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The Shape of Things

THE SIXTEEN-NATION CONFERENCE OF PARIS has begun auspiciously. The empty chairs were noted with regret, but not too much time was taken up in answering the rather preposterous charges that the West was attempting to "isolate" Russia or that Paris was simply a big-power conspiracy against the independence and sovereign rights of lesser nations. The disappointment over the absence of the eastern nations was quite sincere. For the recovery of Europe, even with the help of the enormous resources of the United States, is but a half-recovery without the cooperation of the East. The first concern of the committees that have got down to work with businesslike dispatch will be to survey Europe's needs in the specific terms of the most urgent shortages: food and agricultural products, coal and power, transportation, and certain classes of machinery. The problem of Germany has already emerged as a pressing one. For without a plan for Germany, Western European recovery cannot be envisioned. It is here that the conference, which has emphasized its exclusively economic nature, is bound to run into political difficulties. M. Bidault said in his opening speech: "It has been alleged that the unavowed aim of our meeting is to rebuild Germany first. The resources of Germany ought to be utilized for Europe, Germany included. I want to emphasize in the name of the French delegation that any other interpretation is improper." But any positive plan for Germany that goes beyond the Potsdam agreement at once raises political questions and chiefly the very large question whether the Western nations are prepared to go ahead with a plan for western Germany without a unanimous four-power agreement. This decision seems now to be on the books, with long-term political consequences at present unforeseeable. One of the most hopeful aspects of the conference is the constant reiteration that the door to the east is left unlatched and the welcome sign is on the mat.

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MEANWHILE ANOTHER SORT OF DIPLOMATIC activity has been evident in Eastern Europe. The humiliation suffered by the Czechs in having to cancel their acceptance in response to a telephone call from the Kremlin may have been assuaged to some extent by the new trade agreement Prime Minister Gottwald brought

back with him from Moscow. Since then, a trade agreement has been announced between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and others will doubtless follow. As Constantine Poulos notes on page 64, the Eastern European countries will certainly carry out their plans for an integrated economic order to the best of their ability. But what is also evident, as one studies the reports of the agreements the Soviet Union has drafted, is that the desires of the eastern countries for the means of industrialization will not be met. The surpluses which Russia can offer are for the most part agricultural surpluses and raw materials in which its satellites are rich. Czechoslovakia and Russia most nearly approximate complementary economies, but Russia will not be able to supply the Czechs with the high-grade machinery they now urgently need. Bulgaria may be glad to dispose of its tobacco crop for Russian wheat, but given decent crop conditions Bulgaria will soon show a food surplus and will be looking for machines. So also in the case of Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Hungary. Without trade with the West, they will maintain, as Poulos describes it, "the slow dreary tempo of recovery." It is hard to believe, however, that the present political considerations that have dictated Russia's fiat against the eastern nations' participation in the Paris meeting, will, in the long run, survive the economic pull between East and West. Even Russia will surely be brought to the conclusion that economically dissatisfied neighbors are not good neighbors.

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FROM NO MATTER WHERE YOU SIT, THE Greek drama looks bad these days. In Greece the government arrests 2,800 "reds" to forestall a "Communist coup." In Washington Norman Armour, the new State Department top policy man, announces that the United States is naturally interested in the arrests but regards them as a matter of internal administration. The United States, he adds, is interested, also, in seeing peaceful conditions restored in Greece; the matter of what steps the Greek government may find necessary to take to preserve law and order is for Athens itself to decide. In New York Dwight P. Griswold, on the eve of leaving to head the American aid program, declares in a broadcast that the object of that program on the military side is "to assist in providing the Greek national army with the equip-

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ment and supplies necessary for the restoration of internal order." And now from government sources in Athens comes the news that an "army" of 1,000 men has crossed the border from Albania in an attempt to relieve a beleaguered guerrilla garrison. From all these excursions and alarms, one fact emerges clear—so clear that everybody seems to know it except the State Department: our Greek policy is off on the wrong foot. The present corrupt and reactionary Greek government is incapable of bringing about the peaceful conditions which the United States "is interested" in seeing restored; the non-intervention which Mr. Armour and Mr. Griswold so valiantly profess constitutes in fact the worst form of interference in the affairs of the Greek people. The official American view, apparently, is that the only alternative to the present government is a Communist regime controlled by Moscow. This is a stupid and defeatist view. Persisted in, it is guaranteed to encourage bigger and better "red plots," more and more mass arrests—in short, an extension of the civil war. The end result will be the very one the American policy is designed to prevent. As to the situation on the Greek northern frontier, it is high time for this to be brought under international surveillance. The sooner an international border commission, such as has been proposed in the United Nations Security Council, gets into active operation, the better for the Greek people and the world's peace of mind.

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GOOD HOUSING WILL NOT CURE EVERYTHING that's wrong with us, but bad housing lies close to the root of many sicknesses of the body politic. Certainly the most unpalatable and most devastating phase of the whole shoddy housing situation is that of discrimination—the maintenance of ghettos, in twentieth-century America, for one or another minority group. As Charles Abrams makes clear in his acute analysis, *Race Bias in Housing*, starting in this issue on page 67, the ghetto ripens into a political and social institution once it has been sanctified by the courts. And it has, for many years, either received such sanction or received the equally substantial benediction of judicial approval by default. Today, as Mr. Abrams' series appears, we may be on the verge of a change for the better. Three weeks ago the Supreme Court of the United States decided, *for the first time in history*, to review two state court decisions upholding the restrictive covenant. The restrictive covenant has long been a prime tool of the real-estate fraternity that has learned how to merchandise prejudice. The cases, involving covenants in Michigan and Missouri, will probably come up in October; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Civil Liberties Union, and the American Jewish Congress are throwing their considerable legal talents into the fight; this magazine will observe developments

closely. Almost as exciting as the Supreme Court cases is the suit now being brought by three Negro war veterans (for whom Mr. Abrams is counsel) against the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, builders and owners of the racially restrictive Stuyvesant Town. The N. A. A. C. P. and the A. J. C. are backing this fight too. The Stuyvesant Town formula would establish a pattern for government subsidization of discrimination. To forestall the creation of such a pattern, the several plaintiffs have submitted briefs asking that Metropolitan be prevented by injunction from barring Negro tenants in Stuyvesant Town. The Supreme Court of New York is at this moment weighing those briefs.

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WE ARE INDEBTED FOR THIS EDITORIAL TO Eva Madden of New York City, who last week called to the attention of the editors of the New York *Herald Tribune* the following "Prayer for Landlords":

We heartily pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds and pastures of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be Thy tenants, may not rack or stretch out the rents of their houses or lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines or moneys after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so to let them out that the inhabitants thereof may be able to pay their rents and to live and nourish their families and remember the poor. Give them grace also to remember that they are but pilgrims and strangers in this world, having no dwelling place, but seeking one to come, that they, remembering the short continuance of this life, may be content with that which is sufficient . . . that after this life they may be received into everlasting habitations.

This passage, Miss Madden notes, is taken from the Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI. Edward VI was the son of Henry VIII; he was studious, somewhat retiring, and devout, and died at the age of fifteen in 1553 A.D.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF DR. RUSTEM VAMBERY to represent Hungary in Washington is an indication that the Budapest regime, despite its supposed total subservience to Moscow, is making a genuine effort to improve relations with the United States. No one can accuse Dr. Vambery of being either Communist or fellow-traveler. Courageous liberal, scholar, and jurist of international reputation, he will bring to his office a wisdom and experience equal to its responsibilities. Member of a distinguished Budapest family, he took an active part before the First World War in resisting both the dominance of German culture and the strident chauvinism of the Magyar nationalists. In 1918 he was a member of the group of liberals who supported Count Michael Karolyi in his shortlived regime. During the dark night

of the Horthy dictatorship, Dr. Vambery courageously fought for the liberties of the Hungarian people, using his talents as a lawyer to defend those unjustly arrested for their political beliefs. He came to the United States in 1939 and until 1944 lectured on criminology and penology in New York's New School of Social Research. During the war he was active in organizing the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians and became chairman of the Committee for a New Democratic Hungary. In the first Hungarian national elections, he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Hungarian National Assembly. Dr. Vambery is an old friend of *The Nation* and a frequent contributor. We wish him well in his new post. His wit, his charm, and his wisdom will serve him well as an ambassador between East and West.

The Economic Outlook

IN HIS forthcoming report to Congress on the economic outlook, the President, it is believed, will minimize the threat of an early recession. At the same time, it seems likely that he will call attention to the imminent danger of a new twist to the inflationary spiral, which will in the end lead inevitably to a more certain and deeper recession.

Currently the economic outlook has many favorable aspects. We have reached a new high in employment, topping Henry Wallace's mark of 60,000,000 jobs, and average weekly take-home pay has risen above its war-time peak. However, the hope that rising production would make possible the equation of supply and demand at a high level, thus checking any further rise in the cost of living, is fading. After their very sharp jump in the first quarter of the year, prices receded a little and then gave signs of settling on a plateau. But in the last few weeks a new upward thrust has become apparent. There are signs that consumer resistance to high prices is weakening, and merchants are once again showing eagerness to buy forward in anticipation of higher quotations. Meanwhile, output of many of the most basic commodities—cotton, steel, oil, meat, and lumber among others—continues to lag behind demand.

The President would be failing in his duty if he did not call the attention of Congress to these facts, particularly as many measures under consideration on Capitol Hill seem calculated to encourage rather than counteract inflationary trends. For instance, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has just approved a bill relaxing instalment-purchase controls; the corresponding House Committee wants to abolish them altogether. Again, while action may be postponed until the next session, there is strong sentiment in Congress for permitting immediate cash conversion of some two

billion dollars of G. I. terminal-leave bonds—clearly an inflationary move. Above all, we have the attempt to put through the tax-cut bill unchanged except for the alteration in its effective date from July 1, 1947, to January 1, 1948.

Commenting on the President's veto of the previous bill, we agreed with him it was "the wrong kind of bill" but expressed some doubts about his point that it was the wrong time for cuts. Since then, indications of growing inflationary pressure have convinced us that the government cannot safely add to the volume of purchasing power by tax reduction. That is a weapon which, as Senator Wayne Morse has very sensibly proposed, should be held in reserve for the time when production and employment show clear evidence of a decline. Unfortunately, the Republican majority is intent on making fiscal changes dependent on its political time-table, whereas they ought to be determined solely by the national economic time-table.

Since most of the press favors the tax bill, its inflationary implications have not received much publicity. Moreover, the newspapers have already decided that if prices take another upward spin the responsibility will lie with labor in general and the miners in particular. Consequently, the effect of the coal settlement on costs is being grossly exaggerated. The new wage level will raise average costs of coal-getting by 61 cents a ton, if production declines proportionately to the decrease in working hours. According to *Business Week*, however, coal experts believe that output per man day will be little affected, in which case the increase in labor costs will be much less than 61 cents a ton. Nevertheless, coal operators are raising prices more than 70 cents a ton, and Pittsburgh retailers have added \$1 a ton.

There is also a great deal of talk about the "inevitability" of a sharp rise in steel prices, with one "steel man" quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* saying, "Our prices must be increased if the industry is to survive." Suggestions of as much as \$5 a ton have been freely canvassed, although it takes no more than two tons of coal to make one ton of steel. It is claimed, however, that the advance in coal costs is merely the last straw breaking the steel masters' backs; the rise in steel wages, higher railroad rates, and inflated raw-material costs are combining to reduce steel profits to zero. Actually, there is reason to believe that these factors are being offset by increased labor productivity and the economies of capacity operation. We feel safe in predicting that second-quarter reports from the steel companies, due in a few weeks, will show that the industry is far from bankrupt. In fact, industry in general is generating profits at such a prodigious rate that it is easily able to absorb recent wage increases. If, nevertheless, prices are boosted again, the blame should be assigned not to labor but to the business instinct to grab all that the traffic will bear.

Atomic Witch-Hunt

FOR some months the United States Atomic Energy Commission has been voicing a lugubrious complaint: barriers have been placed in the way of its hiring scientists, engineers, and administrators which make it extremely difficult if not impossible to assemble a first-class staff.

There were difficulties enough in the first place, the commission points out. The work which top-flight scientists are asked to do—in large part, to perfect ever more devastating atomic bombs—is utterly antipathetic to the scientific spirit. Moreover, the stringent security and secrecy rules under which government scientists must work are contrary to the honored methods of science. And, finally, government scientists are denied the psychic wage of prestige, since they are forbidden to publish their findings.

On top of all this, Congress recently forced a drastic reduction of salary schedules—below the point which permits the government to compete with offers from outside employment. And now, for political, reactionary economic, isolationist, and the Lord knows what other reasons, Congress has chosen the Atomic Energy Commission as principal field in a fanatical witch-hunt. The mouthings of J. Parnell Thomas, John E. Rankin, and other legislators have made a man's acceptance of a job with the commission in effect an invitation to have his character assassinated and a declaration that he is an agent of red Roosia.

Last week's phony revelations about "unknown agents" stealing A-bomb secrets illustrate the situation. The New York *Sun* and the Patterson papers devoted yards of type to reviling the AEC and to proving that it differed from the Politbureau only in geographic location. Crowing with glee, Thomas said, "I told you so." The story backfired, as effectively as any in journalistic history: it turned out that the theft was the act of two army sergeants and took place at Los Alamos—not Oak Ridge, as reported—when Los Alamos was under military control, indeed under the direction of the super-safe and hallowed General Groves. And it was the stumblebum civilians, those subversive fellows, who detected the theft. Their story shot from under them, Thomas and his press pretended not to notice and repeated the calumny, muttering new *Greuelmärchen*, the more terrifying for being the less specific.

Thus, the commission's complaints are only too well founded. But recently, by its own action, the AEC added the capstone to the barrier against its employment of high-caliber personnel. It joined with the State, War, and Navy departments in requesting permanent legislation to permit these "sensitive" agencies summarily to fire any employee, without even telling him the reason for his dismissal, without granting hearing or review.

It is alleged that such procedure may be necessary, in rare cases and where subversive action is clearly established, in order to achieve "maximum security." But no explanation of why it may be necessary has been furnished by any of the four agencies; no hypothetical case has been cited. And one can scarcely be imagined.

Suppose the worst situation: an employee with access to secret and vital information is discovered to be an enemy agent. Without any power of summary dismissal, the AEC or one of the departments can suspend him, sequester him, stop the flow of information to him, transfer him elsewhere—in fact, stop him cold, instantly—all under its normal powers. The subsequent hearings necessary to kick him out of the government entirely need not be too onerous or time-consuming—and they protect the employee's civil, indeed, his constitutional rights.

Suppose the commission or the department or the FBI wants to avoid tipping off the spy ring with which the employee is working. In that case, surely, the suspect would not be discharged without explanation. No clearer tip-off could be imagined.

The rationale for the request for legislation, if there is one, seems to be that sometimes a "sensitive" agency may want to fire a man without any red tape. But red tape is a small price to pay for civil rights. And preservation of his civil rights is the minimum guaranty which the AEC ought to be able to offer to a man it wants to hire.

Ring Around a Law

THE language in the new coal contract provides the first examples of the devices which strong unions will use, not to evade the Taft-Hartley act, but rather to operate as far as possible outside its scope. The trick clauses which Lewis wrote into the settlement do not save his union from being charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the commission of the various unfair labor practices specified in the new law. Those are matters of public interest, not to be set aside by a contract between two parties. But the clauses do have the effect of depriving employers of almost all the weapons which the law sought to put into their hands. They have a legal right to waive them, and waive them they did because Lewis was in a position to force them to do so. Thus the employers promised not to use any of the unfair labor practices mentioned in the law as the basis for damage suits. At the same time, Lewis made no other promises of performance; accordingly there is nothing in the contract for him or the miners to breach.

Both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. have indicated that they will use similar tactics and devices. The "no-strike pledge," a useful and stabilizing instrument in the hands

of a responsible union leader dedicated to preventing wildcat strikes, will drop out of future contracts wherever unions are strong enough to force its omission. Such promises have now become too risky. Under the Wagner act, they could not be used as pegs on which to hang damage suits when wildcat strikes occurred; under the Taft-Hartley act they very probably can be so used.

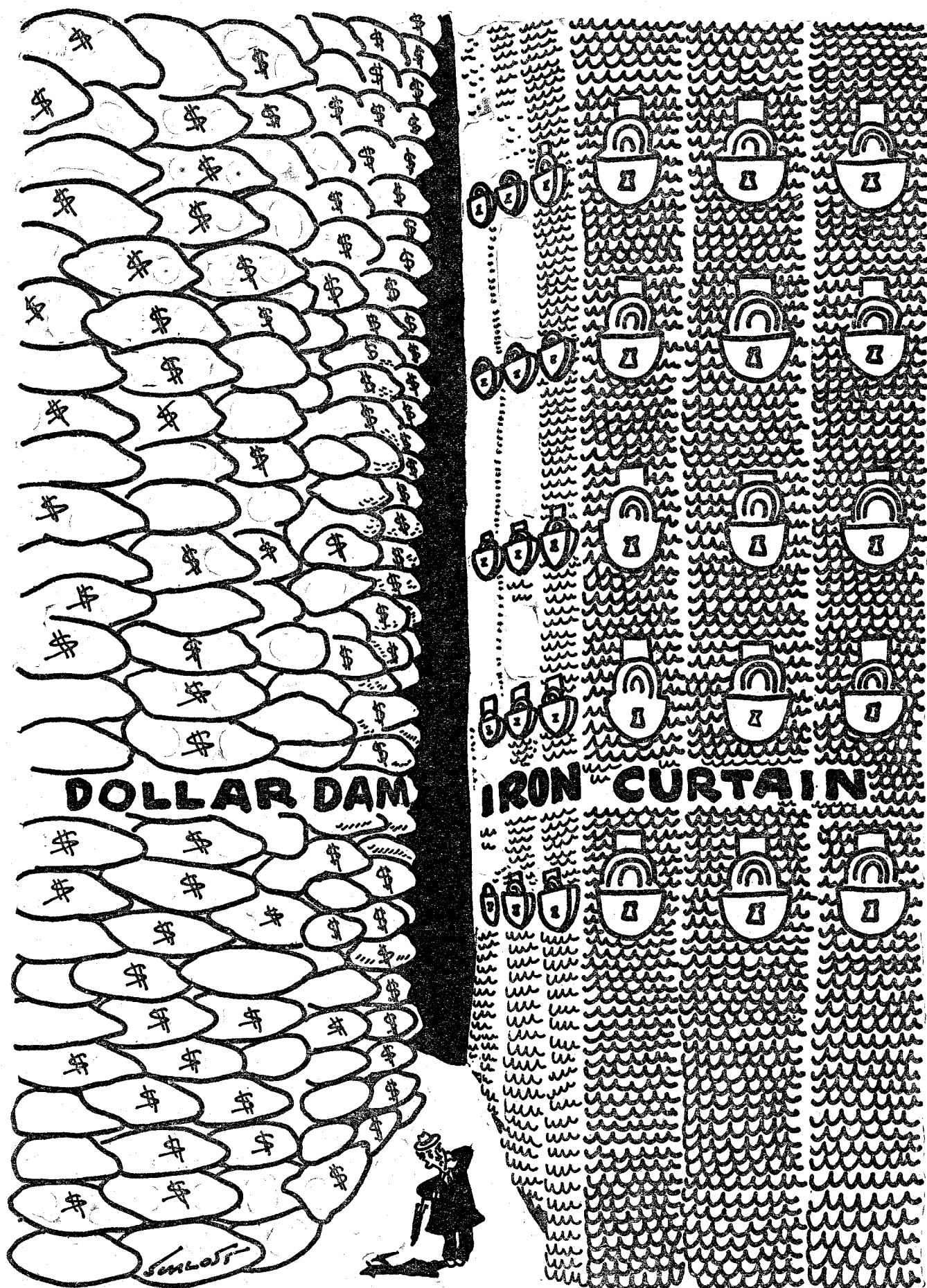
Strong, well-organized unions, particularly those in the skilled-crafts field, may well do without any contracts whatever. A group of composers or bricklayers, for example, will simply meet in their union hall and determine what the wages and working conditions will be. Employers will comply, or do without workers.

Similarly, strong unions, craft or industrial, will not use NLRB procedure to obtain recognition as bargaining agents. They will wait until they are well organized in a plant and then demand a contract. If the employer refuses to recognize them, they may strike, and quite legally, for the law does not prohibit or penalize organization strikes in the absence of prior NLRB certification.

The use of these methods—and there are several others equally effective—means that the future will see less, not more, collective bargaining and less, not more, resort to the peaceful procedures of the law. The A. F. of L.'s directions to its component organizations, and statements and instructions already issued by the C. I. O. steel and electrical workers, demonstrate that the law is operating to defeat the exact aims which it was explicitly designed to achieve.

It will constrain the strong unions to become stronger. They know that there is no hope or comfort for them in the infinitely cumbersome, frustrating and delaying procedures of the NLRB as these have now been revamped, and therefore they will be obliged to gain their ends by their own strength. This means strikes. It means also that there will really come to pass that "collective bludgeoning" against which Taft and Ball were so fond of inveighing.

What has been said above applies to strong unions. To repeat, the law forces them to grow stronger. But it will make weak unions weaker and will effectively prevent organization in areas where the going was already tough. Against skilful and determined employer opposition, no weak union has a chance. Using the provisions of the new law and the new NLRB procedures, and dealing with a union unable to pull an effective strike, an employer can delay certification for at least a couple of years. Then he can harass the union, challenge it, fire its leaders, and commit every unfair practice in the book for many more months before the NLRB can worry the case through the courts, catch up with him—and slap his wrist. Against such activities, no union that is only a "little fellow" can survive. Every union knows it. It can scarcely be that Taft, Hartley, Ball, and the N. A. M. don't know it too.



NO EXIT

The Soviets Say No

BY LEON BLUM

Paris, July 5

THE Paris conference did not open in a very favorable atmosphere. Only a few maniacal optimists like myself were inclined, or rather forced themselves, to envisage its success. The memory of Moscow was still too fresh and vivid. Most people dreaded the delays, the chicaneries, the long and bitter discussions, and then the final deferment of any decision. But nobody foresaw such a sudden and complete break. That was the reason the cruel blow caused general consternation.

Yes, cruel—I cannot take back the word. Even if no cruelty of method on the part of the U. S. S. R. marked the break—sweet smiles and tender handshakes were exchanged between Molotov and Georges Bidault according to the press photographs—the Soviet Union withdrew from the conference with brutal abruptness, without trying to understand its purpose, without looking for a possible basis of agreement, without formulating any positive counter-proposal.

It is even harder to understand what happened if one recalls the sequence of events between the announcement of the Truman Doctrine and the Paris conference. The President's severe and almost menacing speech dealing with the Greek and Turkish question made an American loan look like an anti-Soviet defense measure and even like a para-military operation. A few weeks later, after the alarmed reaction of international public opinion, an almost equally resounding speech by Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson corrected this view. An American loan was to be granted only as a contribution to Europe's economic recovery. However, political affinity between the governments of the credit-demanding nations and the American system was still a condition of the loan; the Parisian papers of every political shade, the *Monde* as well as the *Populaire*, pointed out this difficulty. It was then that General Marshall spoke at Cambridge, after the failure of the Moscow conference, in an effort to dissipate the existing confusion and apprehension.

According to General Marshall's plan the United States would no longer carry on isolated transactions with France or any other European nation. American aid would be furnished to Europe collectively. Europe would be invited to set up a comprehensive plan to aid itself, which it would submit to the American government.

Everybody was struck by the economic and non-political character of the plan. Its only political influence would be indirect—through its very benefits, inasmuch as the misery or well-being of a people is a political factor of prime importance. Moreover, the American government could no longer be suspected of political

discrimination, for all Europe was called upon to draw up a statement of its needs upon which American action would be based.

The Foreign Ministers of Russia, Great Britain, and France met in Paris to decide the wording of a joint answer to General Marshall's proposal. The conference had no other object. How is it possible that not even a common pledge of adherence to the fundamental principles of the plan could be agreed upon? How is one to understand the Soviet Union's resistance to these principles, which had been evolved precisely in order to overcome its distrust and opposition?

I continue to insist on this point because it is of capital importance. If the American government had offered to negotiate separately with the various European states, these negotiations might have been expected to have very uneven results, according to the favor with which the government in question was viewed by American public opinion and the American Congress. There would certainly have been suspicion of political pressure and fear of a "Western trap."

But the Marshall plan dissipated, even excluded, such suspicion and fear. As I said above, the Marshall plan seemed made to order for the Soviet Union and its satellites. Why, then, did the Soviet Union oppose it?

Did the Kremlin fear that elements of political pressure, inequality of distribution, partiality, however categorically denied by the United States, might still be introduced into the preparatory work by some European power, especially by Great Britain or France? This would seem to be a strange charge to bring against a government headed by an Attlee or a Ramadier. But even if it were justified, against any semblance of probability, it was up to the Soviet government to suggest methods of organization and action which would have insured the good faith, impartiality, and justice necessary to place all European nations on an equal footing. I am certain such suggestions by the Soviet Union would have met with no objection. If they had been introduced into the discussion, all the democratic forces in Great Britain and France would have rallied to their support. Nothing would have been easier for the Soviet Union than to take steps in this direction. But it did not do so.

It is therefore not difficult to place the responsibility for the failure of the conference. No doubt about it exists. But this sort of certainty is no consolation. On its arduous path toward order, amity, prosperity, and peace the world has just experienced a harsh setback. We must now recover from the shock and continue our task despite the hardships ahead.

The Eastern Bloc

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

New York, July 12

SOME five weeks ago, shortly after the Communists had strengthened their position in Hungary, one of the Americans serving at the legation in Budapest told me that the inclusion of Hungary in the American post-UNRRA relief bill passed by Congress in late May had had a great deal to do with the Soviet Union's decision to tighten its hold on that country.

Two days ago, on July 10, the Soviet High Commissioner on the Allied Council for Austria demanded the withdrawal of the conditions placed on the American aid program for Austria, which were the same that Hungary would have had to meet. They require, among other things:

[that the recipient country] has taken or is taking, in so far as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction.

Upon request of the President, it [the recipient country] will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country.

Fulfillment of these two conditions, not to list the several others—including one providing that "full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein"—would automatically force a deviation in the pro-Russian orientation of the countries of Eastern Europe. Russia feels that it cannot permit this to happen. At all costs it will try to prevent American influence from "infiltrating" into Eastern Europe.

This was apparently in Molotov's mind at Paris. But Molotov is not only opposed to American aid for Europe with a dollar label and to any strengthening of American interests in Europe, he is also afraid of a stable, economically integrated Europe which might get to be comparatively independent of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Although the division between East and West is deeper today than ever before, the United States can still prevent the elimination or reduction of its influence

if it will reevaluate the forces of Eastern Europe and revise its past policies and approaches. American policy in Eastern Europe up to now has concerned itself with two matters: first, American interests, and second, establishment of a formal Western democracy which would theoretically protect and enlarge those interests.

The war had hardly ended when Washington started sending notes to the Eastern European countries protesting against various anti-democratic activities. The notes were naturally suspect and therefore usually ignored. They were suspect because men and women in power today have long memories. They remember that when they were tortured and imprisoned and their comrades were killed by the pre-war dictatorial regimes, the United States did not utter one word of protest. And they know that there is less freedom of expression in Spain and Portugal than in Poland and Bulgaria; yet the American government does not protest.

The notes were apparently based on the fallacious theory that democracy could be "created" in this part of Europe. This fallacy was in line with the conception that a good, possibly misguided, but orderly society existed in Eastern Europe on which an armed minority was imposing a new political and economic pattern. Actually, the old order was destroyed and new patterns are being worked out with the elements at hand.

Our getting angry with the governments of Eastern Europe only strengthened the Communists there and weakened the moderate elements. More than anything else these governments need understanding. As has been said many times, the new regimes are victims of circumstances more than forces of evil. They have shown courage and exceptional energy and have put many long-overdue reforms into effect.

Instead of attempting to understand the new social and political forces that have found expression in the Eastern European governments, the United States has based its policy so far on support of "the opposition." But "the opposition" is cankered, bankrupt, and negative. Lamely it blames its failure to present any social or economic program on the presence of Russian troops. It uses the old formula of covering up its social and economic impotence with nationalist slogans. Although it is based on peasant support, it has no plan to oppose to the sincere determination of the governments to improve agricultural methods and production and to alleviate the poverty of the peasants by increased industrialization.

The peasant parties of Poland, Austria, and Rumania do not represent the peasants any more than the Small

CONSTANTINE POULOS has just returned to this country after a long stay in Eastern Europe. This is the last of a series of three articles.

Holder's Party of Hungary does. The real peasants lost the leadership of their parties twenty years ago to middle-class merchants and urban professional people; they are not likely to regain it now that the parties have been inundated with ex-fascist collaborators and upper-class business men.

Poland's Stanislaw Mikolajczyk is a particularly fair-headed boy of the West if one is to judge by the support ostentatiously given him. That support, coupled with the pressure from the violently right-wing forces he has had to accept into his following, has led him far astray. Seeking only to demonstrate his opposition to the left bloc, he departed from the traditional position of his party last year and called on the peasants to vote for the retention of the "gentry" senate which had always fought against land reform.

In Rumania it is even more obvious that the existing opposition is not a peasant movement but a reactionary nationalist movement, exploiting the discontent and misery of the people in an attempt to restore the old order—all in the name of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In the preelection campaign last November the National Peasant Party leader, Iuliu Maniu, said, "The National Peasant state will be a labor state," and mumbled something about his platform "guaranteeing the rights of the working class." But when Maniu was in power in 1933, the police shot down 480 striking railway workers.

The nepotic Liberal Party of the Bratianu family also appealed to the peasants in the November campaign, but everybody in Rumania knows that the Bratianu family has been sucking the peasants dry for a century and a half and leading them to the polls at the bayonet point.

In Bulgaria the story is much the same. One of the leaders of the Bulgarian "peasant" opposition is listed in British records as having received funds from Mussolini for the propagation of the fascist faith.

A Small Holder deputy said recently, "Hungary does not need a three-year plan: it needs rain."

The vacuum in which the peasant-party leaders are functioning forces them to rely on extremist, chauvinist support. Last summer Mikolajczyk's men in the Cracow area offered to take me to the terrorist forest bands and boasted that a membership card in the Peasant Party was a *laissez-passer* through the territory they dominated. A Rumanian professor in Cluj, who is also a leading member of Maniu's party, earnestly assured me that Rumania would have no peace until all Hungarians and Jews had been cleaned out of the country. The Small Holders implicated in the childish plot against the Hungarian left last January were conspiring with the left-overs of the Horthy, irredentist, anti-Semitic army caste.

The hierarchy of the Catholic church offers the strongest and most serious opposition to the present regimes in every country of Eastern Europe except Rumania and

Bulgaria, where the number of Catholics is small. The Catholic church is fighting Russian influence and consequently the new regimes on every level of social and political life.

Totaling up the opposition and studying its performance to date, one reaches the conclusion that the available alternative to the present governments is nationalist, anti-Semitic, clerical, counter-revolutionary oppression. Does anyone believe this would be a step toward "Western democracy"?

Among the peoples of Eastern Europe the announcement of the Marshall plan raised the hope that American policy had changed. That is why they must have been sorely distressed when Molotov walked out of the Paris session. They had had their misgivings, of course. They remembered the Truman Doctrine. They recalled the recent statement by former Under Secretary of State Acheson, which was much publicized in Eastern Europe at the time, to the effect that "free peoples who are seeking to preserve their independence and democratic institutions against totalitarian pressures, either external or internal, will receive top priority for American reconstruction aid." They were familiar with the conditions that Congress placed on the post-UNRRA relief programs.

Nevertheless, the economic problems of the governments of Eastern Europe made the Marshall plan extremely tempting. These governments hoped that the simple fact of economic necessity would cut across ideological lines. They envisioned an end to the present slow, dreary tempo of recovery and the possibility of raising living standards much earlier than they had planned.

Only a few days before Molotov met with Bevin and Bidault, Polish officials in London told me they believed their government would take part regardless of what Russia did. But unfortunately Russia wasn't having any.

The Marshall plan will revitalize the shaky economic structure of Western Europe, whatever obstacles the Communist parties of France and Italy may devise. Recovery in Eastern Europe will also go on—in its own way. The economic interdependence and cooperation within the area which I discussed in my last article is a serious effort, and its development, which Russia may be inclined to encourage and aid, has tremendous possibilities. Moreover, the recovery of Western Europe will inevitably help the recovery of Eastern Europe. Trade relations between the two areas are an economic necessity to which any tendency toward trade restrictions imposed for ideological reasons is bound to give way.

Washington has as yet given no hint as to whether or not the countries of Eastern Europe can get any aid outside the Marshall plan. It would be a mistake to assume that channels of direct influence created by industrial and trade relations are completely closed to the United States.

Tribal Town

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Metlakatla, Alaska, July 1

WHERE salt water washes the edge of the great green mountains, canneries convert the life of sea and river into food which is sold across the face of a hungry world. Practically all these canneries are owned outside Alaska, by people who have never seen them. The owners live in Seattle and Miami and Santa Barbara; they are the stockholders of the Atlantic and Pacific, the New England Fish Company, and Libby, McNeill, and Libby.

But there is a cannery at Metlakatla which is owned by the 750 residents of Metlakatla. And because the cannery is owned by the people, so are the light plant and the water works and even the little movie theater, though elsewhere in Alaska the picture houses belong to the chains. No one in Metlakatla pays an electric bill. You use all the current you need for your light fixtures and appliances as your share of the plant's output. You get your water in the same way. During the winter when the Chinooks and Cohos are not running, the fishermen of Metlakatla are paid from the cannery fund to repair the Town Hall, build roads, and drive new piles for the long timbered docks. Since the sawmill at Metlakatla is also owned by the people of the village, there is no shortage of lumber, and the price is not too high.

All of Metlakatla's inhabitants are Tsimpshean Indians. No white man stays in Metlakatla overnight without permission of the council. Around North Country campfires many tales are told—of the *cheechakoes* who sought gold, of the fur poachers, and of the scarlet-coated police at Aklavik and Arctic Red River. But no story is more astonishing than that of the Tsimpshean tribe, which was saved from extermination by filth and disease and exploitation because it was taken in hand by a zealous commercial traveler who crossed the sea from England nearly half a century ago.

William Duncan, youthful salesman for George Cousins and Son, dealers in hides and leather, was shocked by the conditions he found among the Tsimpsheans. White traders were inducing them to part with valuable pelts and fish for a few worthless trinkets. Naked Indian girls were delivered to the factors at the trading posts. All trade was floated on liquor. Duncan

decided that the Tsimpsheans needed a missionary. Although not an ordained minister, he would be that missionary.

It took him a year to learn enough of the Tsimpshean tongue to preach a halting sermon. He warned the Indians that they were being debauched and exploited at the British Columbia tidewater outpost of Fort Simpson. A chief tried to kill him, but he was saved by a faithful retainer. He built his own store at Metlakatla, which was then in British Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson determined to drive him to the wall by underselling him. He could get no cargo off the Bay steamers; so he bought his own steamer on credit and navigated it to Victoria without a chart.

The Tsimpsheans quit cannibalism and the drinking and debauchery which were killing them off. But Bishop William Ridley of the Church of England did not approve of the success of the unordained minister in Metlakatla. Jealousy may have influenced him when he questioned the right of the Tsimpsheans to the ground on which their village stood. The Canadian government, counting votes, backed up the Bishop. Duncan traveled overland to Washington and managed to see President Grover Cleveland. If the Tsimpsheans were not wanted in Canada, would the United States welcome them?

On August 8, 1887, Duncan went ashore on the timbered ramparts of Annette Island, off the Alaskan coast, followed by the Tsimpsheans. The American flag went up on a newly cut hemlock pole. Duncan organized a brass band and taught the Indians to play the martial airs of their new country. He himself helped to build the sawmill and the cannery. Never would white men put a cash register in the new Metlakatla if he had his way. Duncan was now a hero. An American writer produced a laudatory biography. But when Duncan discovered that in one sentence the author referred to the Tsimpsheans as "savages," he reacted ferociously and bought up all the unsold copies. Under his architectural direction the "savages" built the largest church in Alaska, modeled after what he remembered of Westminster Abbey. In 1918 a gray and bearded Duncan, eighty-six years old, was buried on a green hillside beside the church.

Today the churches of Metlakatla can seat more people than those of any other Alaskan community. The Episcopalian and the Presbyterian church work together in harmony, although Duncan, a benevolent autocrat, at first opposed the coming of the second denomination. The new Metlakatla has more than seven times the population of the old, which is now deserted and over-

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, an Oregon journalist who served in Alaska during the war, has returned there this summer and will send *The Nation* a number of articles.

grown, a memorial to the timidity of a government which ruled in Ottawa long ago.

In the Metlakatla village fund, accumulated out of profits from the cannery, more than \$800,000 is earmarked for local improvements. A new power plant will be built in the granite mountains above the town. Metlakatla will sell surplus current to Pan-American Airways and the Civil Aeronautics Board, which operate the huge airfield on the other side of the island. By the word of Grover Cleveland himself all of Annette Island belongs to the Tsimshians, but during the war, when the invader crouched in the Aleutians not far away, the tribe allowed the air forces of both the United States and Canada to use the coastal lowlands for an airport. Indeed, lumber from the Tsimshian sawmill went into the barracks, hangars, and control towers. In both

churches at Metlakatla hang placards bearing the names of the men who answered America's call to arms.

Metlakatla's cannery and freezing plant are valued at a half a million dollars. Officials of the Food and Drug Administration say it is one of the cleanest establishments on the North Pacific coast. Its salmon and halibut are never remanded for impurities. A fishing-boat tender, the Annette, is worth another \$100,000. The utilities of the town are valued at \$750,000. Residents of Metlakatla pay 40 cents to go to the movies, while fourteen miles across Tongass Narrows in Ketchikan people pay 75 cents to see the same shows. Indian children often trudge up the hill to put wild flowers on the grave of the Englishman who long ago said to their ancestors, "We are not Indians or whites. We are simply Christians."

Race Bias in Housing

I. THE GREAT HYPOCRISY

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

THE housing shortage poses one of the most crucial questions on the racial issue since emancipation. With twelve million houses ripe for the wrecking crew and an additional seven million needed for new families, national housing requirements for the next ten years will equal about half the existing number of dwellings. This pent-up demand can be held down for a time but sooner or later must be met. Eventually, thousands of new projects and subdivisions will spring up from coast to coast. In the process the racial patterns of our neighborhoods will inevitably be redrawn.

On the eve of this largest building program in our history we face the choice of recasting our communities in a democratic mold or isolating minority groups in segregated areas and thereby losing the opportunity to level out social differences. The decision will depend on whether the pressures to perpetuate segregation have already become too strong to be resisted.

SEGREGATION A FIXED PATTERN

Four score years after Gettysburg the proposition that all men are created equal is again an issue. Segregation has won social sanction, political respectability, and judi-

cial benediction. The Negro may once have won equality in law but never in fact. Today he is well on the way to losing it in law—worse still, the way has been paved for the segregation of other minorities as well. This setback may be ascribed to developments after the Civil War when the Supreme Court approved the doctrine that facilities for the Negro could be *separate* if they were *equal*. It was a mischievous conception from the start. It substituted equivalence for equality, for men who must be separate will no longer be equal. Separation accentuated differences and prevented the development of a better understanding between the races through educational processes.

The segregation of Negroes in schools and transportation was bad enough, but their segregation in housing had even more vicious implications. The relegation of children to separate neighborhood schools and playgrounds overemphasized differences in race and color; the establishment of Negro ghettos converted the distinctions into priorities. Segregation in housing received great momentum from the northern migration of Negroes after World War I, when sections in which Negroes had lived side by side with whites were transformed into almost wholly Negro districts. Landlords responsive to tenants' attitudes became reluctant to rent to the racial minority; landowners were unwilling to sell them land for houses; mortgage lenders rated property occupied by them as risky. The private restrictive covenant under which owners agreed to bar Negroes from occupying homes in white sections fixed the segregation

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pattern in thousands of areas. Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, Jews, and other groups are now often included in the ban.

The twentieth century thus brought a change in the underlying reason for the ghetto. Segregation of minorities, once more or less voluntary or the result of social or economic disadvantages, is now forcibly imposed for reasons of race or color. Even improvement in economic status gives the proscribed no freedom to move elsewhere. American slums are no longer exclusively the product of a discrepancy between rent and wages; they are also caused by social pressure against the unwanted minorities—in the North as well as in the South. Exclusion practices are common in the flop house and roadside camp as well as in the great hostleries. Discrimination is an epidemic contagion affecting rich and poor. Even persons free of any racial bias feel compelled to abide by a rule which has now become part of the code of social propriety.

When segregation of one race receives social approval, the practice is soon extended against other races; when it receives judicial blessing, it tends to ripen into a political institution. This is precisely what is happening in America today. Segregation in housing is no longer exclusively a Negro problem, though Negroes are still the most affected race.

It is enforced by tacit understandings and by legalized agreements. It flourishes in states without civil-rights laws and in those with them. It is embodied in "codes of ethics" of respectable realtors and is countenanced even by enlightened public officials. Newspapers jealous of any encroachment upon their freedom to write as they choose carry advertising limiting the freedom of minorities to live where they choose. There is today hardly a private community in the United States where the atmosphere for a rapprochement between the races exists.

DISCRIMINATION IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENTS

Prejudice is a malady for which law is no specific. It afflicts not only the individual but the body politic, where its most virulent aspects may be noted.

When it appeared that the housing problem could not be solved by private enterprise alone, that the home-ownership structure must be bolstered, the mortgage system reformed, and slum areas rebuilt, public aid was extended to private building companies. The aid took the form of condemnation by public agencies of property needed for the private projects, tax exemption, and conveyance of public streets. The federal government also helped private mortgage lenders by purchasing or insuring their mortgage loans.

As public intervention in housing increased after 1937, the question of segregation in publicly aided private housing came into clearer focus. The first important post-war test on segregation is presented by the Metro-

politan Life Insurance Company's Stuyvesant Town, a vast redevelopment undertaking in the heart of New York City, which will house about a quarter as many people as live in one of our smaller states.* The stock of urban redevelopment corporations like Stuyvesant Town is privately owned, but the projects are usually subsidized by tax exemption and street grants, and the power of eminent domain may be used in their favor.

The basic philosophy of the Metropolitan's chairman of the board, Frederick H. Ecker, is, in his own words, "Negroes and whites don't mix . . . perhaps they will in a hundred years." On the eve of renting Metropolitan has again reaffirmed its intention to exclude Negroes from its housing projects.

The Stuyvesant Town formula, carried to its logical conclusion, would establish subsidized discrimination as the future policy for our housing undertakings. It would authorize the use of public moneys and public powers to establish ghetto patterns in our cities. Worse still, with their establishment, freedom of passage would be more restrained than under passport regulations, for all the streets in an urban redevelopment area may be owned by the company and the public has no right to walk upon them without permission. Here under the name of slum clearance was a device for the evasion of the troublesome Bill of Rights with its insistence on equality and due process. If the formula for using public powers and moneys for private purposes could be carried over to other enterprises, the way would be cleared for a remarkable innovation in government.

After vigorous protests were registered against Stuyvesant Town, a local law was passed, applicable only to New York City, barring tax exemption for any urban redevelopment company practicing discrimination. Stuyvesant Town, however, since it had already been contracted for, was not affected. The issue is now again being tested in the courts. To check any further attacks upon Stuyvesant Town, Metropolitan has undertaken to build Riverton, a nine-million-dollar project for Negroes in Harlem. This move was intended not only to allay public resentment but also, as disclosed in Metropolitan's papers in the litigation over its discriminatory policy, to forestall any attack on its selective practices in renting Stuyvesant Town apartments. Metropolitan argued that it could now discriminate because it was offering "separate but equal" accommodations in the two projects. For the first time an effort was being made to set up the ghetto pattern for subsidized housing for the middle and upper income groups.

New York's urban redevelopment law has stimulated similar legislation in eleven states. In only one, Pennsylvania, is discrimination barred. Upon Stuyvesant Town, therefore, hangs an issue of crucial consequence to the future of minorities in the United States.

* See *The Walls of Stuyvesant Town*, by Charles Abrams, in *The Nation* of March 24, 1945.

NO EQUALITY EVEN IN FEDERAL HOUSING

Racial equality should have been incontestable in the policy of the *federally owned* housing projects. However much federal officials may be tempted by expedience to ignore this broad ideal, it is more than idle folklore. The principle of equal rights for all citizens was laid down by the Constitution and has been reaffirmed by the United Nations Charter. For eighty years a federal statute has declared that all citizens "shall have the same right, in every state and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property." The government charged with enforcing this statute should at least observe it. Moreover, if the principle of equality is permitted to degenerate at the very seat of government, the whole structure of rights based on it will crumble, bringing down with it public respect for law.

Such practices, therefore, as those of the Public Works Administration, which followed the old segregated patterns in housing, and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which respects local prejudices in the sale of repossessed houses, are inexcusable. Some of the concessions to local racial patterns made by the war-housing projects were no more pardonable. A statutory directive barring discrimination or segregation in federally owned or aided projects is necessary to uphold the principle of equality where it is most essential—in the federal government itself.

It will be argued that there will be no federal housing projects if the government abides by the rule of no discrimination. The experience of local housing authorities shows that this need not be so. But even if it were, we should only be paying a high price for a high principle. In the resolution of great issues the advantage of gaining one objective must often be measured against the cost of losing another. If the federal government uses its funds and powers to support segregation or discrimination in its own projects and the practice receives public approval or even acquiescence, hope of ever restoring the lost equality between races may be irretrievably shattered.

THE FHA AND RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

The Federal Housing Administration was set up as a nationally owned insurance agency which for a premium paid by the owner would insure to a lending institution the full repayment of mortgage principal. It has become the most important factor in home building. The conditions which professedly justified such an intrusion into the private-mortgage field were the dearth of mortgage lending during the depression, the demand for more and better homes at reasonable prices, and the need for sounder mortgage-lending practices and improved planning. The agency is in every sense public. Its administrator is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Its losses on war housing are met by Congress-

sional appropriation. The credit of the United States stands behind its guaranties.

Yet this government agency has indulged in the most flagrantly discriminatory practices. Its official underwriting manual long said, "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes." It has told its agents that one of their responsibilities is the "prevention of infiltration." It has warned against "adverse influences," among which it includes "inharmionious racial groups." The "stability" of housing communities, it says, depends on occupancy by "the same social and racial classes to which they are accustomed." It has even offered a model covenant stipulating that "no person of any race other than (race to be inserted) shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant."

These are no slips of the pen or the irresponsible utterances of a P-1 clerk. They have been part and parcel of FHA policy for years.

While discrimination in the South can be superficially defended on the ground of local autonomy, having been legally sanctioned by the local citizenry, the principle of equality still governs federal action. For open encouragement of discrimination responsible officials deserve to be promptly removed. Yet protests which should have made the rafters ring have been tempered and smothered. Thousands of real-estate subdivisions throughout the country are today forever entailed against use by proscribed minorities.

The present FHA Administrator has modified the manual somewhat, but it is clear from the new wording that the discrimination policy is unchanged, and that the agency will still respect restrictive covenants and insure mortgages on property subject to them. The FHA, as one former high official put it, is a "sales tool" for realtors. Its administrators are likely to subordinate the welfare of the people to that of the balance sheet. The FHA must respect the prejudices of the lending institutions which are its exclusive customers for federally guaranteed liens and of the subdividers, by whom exclusion of unwelcome races is taken for granted. Like private enterprise, it must handle a certain volume of business if its actuarial formula is to function, and it will not get that volume unless its practices and its ethics conform to those of the market place.

Revision of the FHA manual is no longer enough. There must be an amendment to the National Housing Act and to the federal civil-rights law barring discrimination by the FHA. A further provision forbidding insurance of mortgages on houses subject to a restrictive covenant would help reestablish an ethical responsibility for government agencies.

The French Crisis

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, July 10

THE crisis in France, as the Western nations assemble for the conference on the Marshall plan, is at once economic, political, and moral. Much of the trouble is the legacy of two ruinous wars. A notion of the country's financial condition can be obtained from the statement that its total national wealth expressed in *francs germinals*, after reaching a maximum of 285 billion in 1912, sank to between 75 and 80 billion in 1945. The shrinking of its economy, in addition to the amputations and devastations of war, has forced France to nibble away at its capital for the last thirty-five years. Living on one's capital is a workable system only as long as one's reserves are great, and France's reserves are practically exhausted. The last devaluation brought the franc to one-thirty-ninth of its 1913 value; the income from savings, which was 13 per cent of the national income in 1938, has dropped to only 4 per cent in 1947. Gold reserves have dwindled to barely \$700,000,000. The trade deficit has reached \$75,000,000 a month.

A substantial increase in production combined with intelligent and stringent economic planning might still, perhaps, save France from wild inflation and financial collapse. But the hard work and austerity implicit in such a solution would require a degree of social discipline, governmental stability, and administrative skill that is unfortunately lacking in post-war France. Indeed, the breakdown of authority has induced more and more Frenchmen "to get along as best they can." Individuals as well as group interests, obeying a natural instinct of self-preservation, are developing a kind of autonomy of their own, each trying, independently of the community at large, to carve out a private area in which to survive. That explains the incredible extension of so-called "lateral" or "parallel" operations of all kinds and also, in part, the present epidemic of social conflicts.

This social and economic semi-anarchy is gradually overwhelming the government. Lacking a solid working majority in Parliament and constantly harried on the left, the Ramadier Cabinet has none the less made a brave effort to bungle through. Its economic policy, based on the Blum experiment, was designed to increase the buying power of the franc by lowering prices, to check inflation by holding the line on wages. Unfortunately, a governmental decree is not enough to hold prices down for long; there must concurrently be a real improvement

in production. By its decree—which was in the nature of an act of faith—the government invited the population to have confidence in the country's recovery. At the same time it sought to create a climate of social peace, a respite conducive to increased output. Production curves were actually slowly tending upward, and the franc did rally on the international market. But confidence was not fully restored; the centrifugal forces remained to be neutralized; the government's economic controls, particularly in the field of agriculture, proved ineffective. The price index, held stationary for a moment, soon resumed its upward course, wholesale prices going from 842 at the end of December to 946 at the end of May and retail prices from 865 to 886 in the same period (1938 = 100).

On the political front the Ramadier Cabinet fared no better. The Communists, obedient to imperatives of their own, for a while managed by a sort of hocus-pocus to preserve Cabinet solidarity without abating their parliamentary and extra-parliamentary agitation against the government's colonial policy. In the matter of wages and prices, too, their tactics were "dialectical" in the extreme: they contrived to let the pot of social discontent simmer but to prevent its coming to a boil. They tentatively supported the Blum experiment, but proclaiming themselves skeptical of its success, agitated for an upward revision of the basic minimum wage. All this reflected the dilemma in which they found themselves as partners in the coalition Cabinet. The dilemma was that of a revolutionary party too weak to seize power but strong enough to demand several choice ministries. As a revolutionary party the Communists could under no circumstances allow themselves to be outflanked on the left by the renascent Trotskyite and Anarcho-Syndicalist movements. As a governmental party they were forced to refrain from knocking the pins out from under the government by promoting social upheaval or imperial collapse. At the same time their reasons for remaining in the government were multiple and compelling: namely, (1) to neutralize any effort by their colleagues to align France in a Western bloc; (2) to get the hang of public administration in anticipation of the Great Day; (3) to avoid losing face in the eyes of their political clientèle by appearing too weak or too cowardly to take a hand in public affairs; (4) to plant their members in strategic spots; (5) to learn exactly what was going on in all branches of the government.

It is not surprising, then, that the Communists, ever since they were expelled from the Cabinet, have had

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but a single thought—to get back in again. They repeatedly asserted—and this was a threat—that no government could long survive without the participation of "France's No. 1 party." To make their threat good they did not hesitate to enlist the help of the Communist-controlled General Federation of Labor (C. G. T.). But their best ally was the growing distress of the workers and of other low-bracket wage-earners. Immediately after their expulsion an epidemic of strikes broke out. (Though visibly embarrassed, the Communists were forced to support the wild-cat strike in the Renault plant, which occurred before their expulsion, and the railway strike, both of which were inspired by dissident Marxist elements.) The railway strike upset the apple-cart; the government, powerless to resist, capitulated, and authorized new contracts in all industries. Theoretically wages were not to be raised; the increases were labeled "production bonuses" of from 5 to 7.5 francs an hour, a disguise whose fragility becomes apparent when one realizes that the bonuses are for past rather than for future production increases. The strike wave, however, continues.

Ramadier and his colleagues are not yet at the end of their troubles; far from it! They have now discovered, a little tardily, that the Treasury is running dry. The Finance Minister, Robert Schuman, has proposed a series of financial measures designed to cover the deficit. The rule-of-thumb nature of these measures, none of which jibe with any comprehensive plan for economic rehabilitation, is such that they can at best bring only temporary

relief. They are vexatious and demoralizing without going to the heart of the problem. They bear heavily on the urban population, while the rural population is virtually untaxed. On the one hand, they increase the cost of living—the prices on bread, milk, coal, and rail transportation are raised; on the other, they seem likely to produce a serious economic contraction—new corporations are taxed, "solidarity-tax" payments accelerated. More capital will be diverted from productive to clandestine operations, savings will be discouraged, and inflation will be stimulated. The government appears to ignore the fact that only economic expansion can provide real sources of increased revenue.

This situation could of course be altered if as a result of the Paris meeting France receives the credits, not only to purchase needed food and supplies, but to rebuild its capital equipment. Meanwhile, the split in Europe, widened drastically by the Molotov refusal, has forced a change in the Communists' line. Now they are compelled to oppose the government policy, and any suggestion of their return to the Cabinet is meeting stiffened resistance. Even the left-wing Socialists, in their recent national council, decided against welcoming the Communists back. The Communists' tactics, therefore, will be to take advantage of any dissension among the Western European nations as they move toward a cooperative economic plan and to exploit with greater fervor the desperate conditions faced by the French people. The French government will need all the help it can get from America if it is to ride out the storm.

Justice in the Army?

BY LEONARD M. WALLSTEIN, JR.

THE movement for reform in military justice, stalled for a while, now shows signs of progress. The House of Representatives is taking a hand, and it may be hoped that corrective legislation is near. Protests against the present system, growing in volume during the war, swelled to an insistent chorus in the post-war period. The movement for reform appeared to get off to a good start early last year when the War Department, with considerable fanfare, sanctioned an Advisory Committee on Military Justice nominated by the American Bar Association and composed of experienced civilian lawyers and judges. This committee, under the

chairmanship of Dean Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New York University Law School, made an extensive study of the subject and in December submitted a careful report to the War Department recommending a large measure of reform. The War Department apparently accepted the report with enthusiasm. Actually it was willing to make only a few minor changes and rejected the committee's central proposals. Army "brass" thus gave notice that it wanted to continue the much-criticized court-martial system pretty much as it was before.

The Vanderbilt committee made findings of fact that cut most of the ground from under the system's apologists in and out of the army. It found that commanding officers, through their direct and indirect power over the members of military courts, often influenced the judgments of the courts; that sentences were "frequently excessively severe and sometimes fantastically so"; that

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defense counsel were often incompetent; and that there was some discrimination in the treatment of officers and enlisted men.

A mass of evidence supported these findings. There was a case in which a regular-army colonel directed a second lieutenant serving as defense counsel to concede facts which the prosecution could not prove and without which the accused soldier could not have been convicted. There were cases in which soldiers were tried on capital and other serious charges without being given any opportunity to consult a lawyer; in which courts handed down sentences of twenty years' imprisonment or more when a few months or years would have sufficed under any reasonable standard; in which officers received reprimands for offenses for which enlisted men would have been punished by dishonorable discharge and years of imprisonment.

To remedy these defects, the committee made one central recommendation with several important corollaries. The central recommendation was that the function of appointing general courts martial and reviewing their sentences should be separated from the function of command. This was to be effected by transferring the power of appointment and review from the lay commander acting on the advice of a legally trained judge advocate to the judge advocate acting in his own right. Thus the commander would no longer be free to reject the advice of his judge advocate on a legal question—any more than he is free to reject the opinion of a medical officer on whether a soldier should undergo surgery.

As one corollary of this central reform the committee recommended an inflexible requirement that trained lawyers should act as defense counsel and that the law member of each general court martial, who performs the functions of a judge in a civilian criminal court, should also be a trained lawyer. Other recommendations on the same level were that commanders be prohibited from influencing courts and that enlisted men be eligible for appointment as members of courts martial in the discretion of the judge advocates, who were to have the appointing power.

Secretary of War Patterson announced that he approved the "principal recommendations" of the committee. In fact, he rejected the substance and approved only the trimmings. He rejected the central recommendation for separation of command and judicial functions. The power to appoint courts and to review their proceedings, he said, must remain in the unit commanders. He approved the recommendation that commanders be prohibited from influencing the deliberations of courts, but this prohibition would add little to existing rules which have proved meaningless in practice. It would be ineffective as long as commanders retained the judicial power of appointment and review as well as the command power to promote and reassign the courts' members. It

would not prevent the indirect control of decisions which has been one of the chief vices of the present system.

The Secretary also rejected the proposal that the defense counsel be a trained lawyer and substituted a provision that the defense counsel must be a lawyer only when the prosecutor is a lawyer. This provision takes no account of the fact that an accused person's right to competent counsel has traditionally been wholly independent of the relative professional training of the prosecutor and that the injustice suffered by soldiers convicted of serious offenses for lack of advice by competent counsel was not in the least mitigated by the prosecutors' lack of training. The Secretary's provision would probably increase the number of cases in which neither prosecutor nor defense counsel is a lawyer and which, consequently, bear no resemblance to judicial proceedings.

The Vanderbilt committee's work was thus largely discarded by the War Department. It deserved a better fate, though the committee displayed a certain lack of realism owing perhaps to the fact that not a single veteran of World War II was a member. An example of this lack of realism was the proposal, concurred in by the War Department, that in the future the law member of a general court martial must be a trained lawyer and must be present throughout the trial—an admirable idea. Congress long ago embodied that requirement in plain English in the Articles of War. The army simply interpreted it out of existence. The army, through the Judge Advocate General's Department, ruled that the law member of a court need never actually sit in the cases which the court decided. In the absence of new methods of supervision, the army would find ways of rendering the proposed new requirement as impotent as the old.

An unrealistic assumption made by the committee and concurred in by the War Department was that an enlarged Judge Advocate General's Department with increased powers of review did not need new leadership and supervision. The committee was content to leave the department in the control of the regular army, though this has caused much of the trouble in the present system. Of course, any increase in the power of the army's legal officers over its judicial system would be an improvement. But it must be remembered that it was the Judge Advocate General's Department, as now constituted, which emasculated the requirement of a trained law member. It was this department which generated much other decadent doctrine—by approving, for example, a soldier's conviction of an offense barred by the statute of limitations on the ground that the defense counsel, through ignorance, had failed to plead the statute as a defense. It was this department which in the case of a soldier convicted and imprisoned on the testimony of an officer refused relief to the soldier when later the officer was driven to suicide by pangs of conscience over his perjury at the trial. The real remedy lies in giving the

Judge Advocate's Department new civilian sources of leadership and supervision—not in simply enlarging its capacity to continue in the same old rut.

Fortunately, there is still a chance of improvement. Congress has under consideration a legislative program drafted by the House Committee on the Armed Services. If it examines the available evidence, it is bound to conclude that court-martial reform requires the maximum freedom of the system from command control, together with continuous civilian supervision and scrutiny.

General courts should be appointed and their sentences reviewed by a legal officer functioning independently in each area. All the Judge Advocate General's duties in the supervision of military justice should be transferred to a *civilian* Assistant Secretary of War, or, under the proposed unification of the services, to a *civilian* Assistant Secretary of National Defense. This official should be required by statute to be a lawyer of broad experience.

When severe sentences have been imposed—for example, imprisonment for more than ten years—appeals to

the Federal Circuit Courts of Appeal should be allowed, whether the trial occurred in the United States or abroad. This would not only prevent injustice in the particular cases appealed but provide a continuing source of fresh, corrective doctrine to counteract some of the more unfortunate rulings of the army boards of review. It would exercise a beneficent influence in all cases, imposing a sense of restraint and discouraging resort to questionable practices. There would be no encouragement of delay, for an accused would begin to serve his sentence, as he does now, as soon as it was approved and ordered executed by the officer who appointed the court.

Finally, whatever other measures are taken, a permanent civilian advisory commission of able lawyers, including some who served in World War II, should be ready to consider and prepare changes in existing practices as they become necessary. Bar associations and lay organizations should be encouraged to become as interested in military courts as they are in other courts and administrative agencies. Military justice should never again be the secret concern of the army.

Letter from Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, July 10

THE first anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Italy calls for a cheer for the magnificent accomplishment of Italians in the reconstruction of their country.

Count Carlo Sforza recently told the foreign press that Italy is a country where nothing new ever happens—everything has happened before. Invasion and destruction have occurred frequently in Italian history, and now as in the past Italy has found the strength and will-power to rebuild itself.

Two years after liberation Italy has almost wrought a miracle. The people went to work by themselves, practically without government directives or coordination, guided by their common sense and their natural industry. Some ministers, of course, tried to plan for reconstruction: these were mostly the young and enthusiastic ones who came from the resistance and for whom public life is not a profession but a mission. Too many of their colleagues of both the right and the left were more concerned with the interests of their respective parties.

The first job tackled was the communications system, which had completely broken down. Until it was restored, no industrial or commercial revival was possible.

One-fourth of all the bridges and 4,500 kilometers of track had been destroyed, together with 59 per cent of the steam locomotives, 78 per cent of the electric locomotives, and 73 per cent of the freight cars. Two years later 50 per cent of the track and 42 per cent of the bridges had been rebuilt. I have seen coaches and locomotives which Allied experts classed as scrap iron beautifully remade. What Italian engineers and workers have done in this field is truly impressive. Practically every town in Italy today can be reached by train, and strangely enough 50 per cent more persons travel today than before the war. A few months after the liberation a trip from Rome to Milan took thirty-three hours; it is now nearly back to the pre-war six-hour schedule.

Italian agriculture suffered heavily from the war. According to figures released to this correspondent for the first time by the Ministry of Agriculture, the damage amounts to more than \$110,000,000,000. Some 600,000 hectares of land have had to be cleared of the debris of heavy fighting; 600,000 cows, 140,000 horses, 1,000,000 sheep and goats, 400,000 pigs, and an equal number of asses were either killed or taken away by the Germans.

I was introduced to the official whose task it has been to record the agricultural losses. "Are you the specialist in war destruction?" I asked him. He looked at me sarcastically and replied, "Not me! You Americans have been the specialists in war destruction!" He told with

MARIO ROSSI is The Nation's correspondent in Italy.

pride how farmers had refused to sell foodstuffs to the Germans, just as they had refused to betray Allied war prisoners hiding in their homes. When the Germans retreated, they carried off grain and animals and mined the fields. As soon as the battle moved past them, the farmers returned to their fields. "Thousands died clearing away the mines."

Of the many tables I was shown, the following is interesting for its summary of the decline of production during the war and the progress made since. These figures have not been published until now:

AVERAGE PRODUCTION PER HECTARE IN QUINTALS					
	1936-40	1941-42	1943-44	1945	1946
Wheat	14.6	13.4	12.6	9.3	13.2
Corn	20.7	17.6	14.5	10.9	15.0
Rice	53.1	50.3	37.8	31.5	38.5
Potatoes . .	69.8	67.2	52.3	37.3	57.9
Beetroot					
(for sugar)	257.5	262.5	238.8	139.7	228.7
Vegetable					
gardens . .	84.1	77.7	76.9	72.0	80.5

The Ministry of Agriculture experts were hopeful for the future but stressed that full recovery was conditioned on American help in obtaining oil, coal, machinery, fertilizers, and insecticides. Italian industry is producing such items but not in sufficient quantities.

The great obstacle to industrial recovery is the lack of coal and raw materials. Italy used to get most of its coal from Poland, Germany, and England. These sources have been almost cut off since the war, and practically all coal has been supplied free of cost by UNRRA. While the rapid conclusion of hostilities in the north and the intervention of the partisans saved the bulk of Italian industrial plants, Italy is in no position to replace the machinery and stocks taken away or destroyed by the Germans. Moreover, the equipment of many factories must be modernized. Immediately after liberation industrial production was reduced to 25 or 30 per cent of capacity. Six months later it was still very low, about 31 per cent of the 1938 figure. After another six months it had risen to 70 per cent. But in January, 1947, it fell to 48 per cent of the pre-war standard because of serious curtailments in electric power, the strike of American coal miners, and, to a degree, unrest among the workers.

Before the war Italy maintained a sufficient dollar reserve through emigrants' remittances, tourists, and the merchant marine. Emigration to America having been at a standstill for so many years, remittances have practically stopped, and the tourist business has not yet started. The merchant marine has been reduced to about one-third its pre-war size. As a result, the commercial balance with America is expected to show a gap of \$600,000,000 to \$800,000,000 in 1948. This lack of foreign exchange with which to buy machinery and raw materials has greatly hampered reconstruction.

But much has been done against incredible odds. Traveling through the war-torn regions of central Italy, one cannot help marveling at the vitality of the Italian people, at how after twenty years of fascism and a disastrous war they have again landed on their feet.

In the Wind

HERE'S THE WIND'S favorite Statement of the Week, uttered by one of the Wind's favorite champions of the people—Herbert U. Nelson, executive vice-president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards: "Eight million small property-owners of fifteen million tenant units have been waiting for five years to hear one word of fairness and appreciation from the White House for what they have done to build up the country and keep things going."

MEANWHILE, TENANTS across the land were quaking in their boots in appreciation of what Mr. Nelson's outfit had accomplished. But in Sweden there are other terrors for tenants. *The Nation's* Stockholm correspondent recently obtained an apartment, and he informs the staff that "the lease is a panic. In it we have solemnly promised, among other things, not to feed pigeons, not to cut down the trees, not to invite our friends up to take baths, and not to deny access to chimney sweeps. Also can't draw lewd pictures on the staircase walls or beat rugs on the stairs or hold an auction."

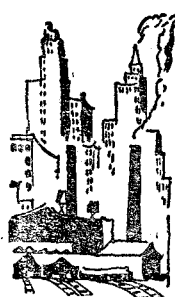
MAN CALLED UP this week to tell the Wind that the June 11 Tokyo-Yokohama edition of *Stars and Stripes* ran a front-page two-column reproduction of the Chicago *Tribune's* Hundredth Anniversary Edition's front page. The Wind's informant added that to the best of his knowledge the *Tribune* has been honored in this fashion only once before—in an Anzio beachhead newspaper—published by the Nazis.

A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT NEWSPAPER, the Clarksburg, West Virginia, *News*, has taken to running "Forecasts" on its front page, something like this: "Forecast—World War III unless Hate, Greed, and Poverty are stamped out."

NOW A BIT OF FAST PATTERN from Lew Hahn, president of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, speaking in Los Angeles: "The retailer of today has got to be open-minded, an experimenter. We don't know what price lines the public prefers now. The proper level may be higher or lower."

STILL FASTER PATTERN from Charles E. Murphy, general counsel of the Advertising Federation of America: "While advertising has received its honorable discharge from the war, it has never broken ranks, but today marches as solidly and as resolutely in the cause of peace and prosperity, here and abroad, as it fought and worked during the days of blood, sweat, and tears." Amen, brother.

[We invite our readers to contribute to *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Russia's Vicious Circle

THE Soviet Union's refusal to participate in any integrated planning for European recovery would seem to imply confidence in its ability to restore and expand its own war-shattered economy without substantial outside assistance. It is not, of course, as isolated as it was during most of the inter-war period. Now it is in a position to develop close economic ties with the large group of states in its political orbit. Yet in the short run at any rate, exchanges with its neighbors can hardly compensate Russia for the limitation of trade with the West. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, the nations of the eastern bloc are too backward industrially to supply many of Russia's needs.

Molotov's retreat from Paris means that, more than ever, the Soviets must rely on their own economic resources. Potentially these are enormous, sufficient to provide the Russians with as high a standard of living as that of any people in the world. The vast expanse of the U. S. S. R. with its varied terrain and climate contains almost every essential mineral and can grow most of the world's useful crops. But the gap between potential wealth and realized wealth is a large one, and despite their tremendous progress since the revolution, the Russians, in terms of currently consumable goods, remain desperately poor.

In the long run their poverty can only be fully relieved by the accumulation of capital equipment and acquisition of those skills needed to use it to the best advantage. From the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet government, therefore, has concentrated on the development of basic industries. Steel, mining, railroads, tractor factories, and so forth have enjoyed a high priority compared with housing and factories producing textiles, shoes, and pots and pans. Consumer purchasing power has been held to a minimum so that as large a proportion of available materials and man-power as possible could be used for new investment.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan, promulgated in early 1946, is carrying on the same policy. It looks to a rapid recovery of ground lost during the war and a renewal of the onward march of industrialization that the Nazi invasion interrupted. True, it also promises a large increase in the production of food and consumer goods, but even if the plan is completely fulfilled, living standards will remain extremely low. For instance, boot and shoe output is scheduled to reach 240,000,000 pairs in 1950, or only a little more than one pair per person. In the United States, where people use their feet much less than in Russia, output is about three pairs per person. Plans for housing offer even less hope for consumers. They call for a five-year total of 100,000,000 square meters of dwelling space, which is merely the equivalent of just over five square yards apiece for each of the 20,000,000 persons rendered homeless in the war. They

hold out no hope of progress in relieving the overcrowding that has been acute in Russia for the last thirty years or in meeting the needs of a constantly expanding population.

Facts like these raise the question whether the policy of rapid industrialization at the expense of living standards has not been carried too far, has not reached the stage of diminishing returns. In a newly published report of the Foreign Policy Association dealing with various aspects of Russia's problem of underproduction Vera Micheles Dean points to "the potential danger that persistent disparity between the growing needs of the population and the quantity of available goods may lead to demoralization, resulting by a vicious circle in still lower productivity."

The extent to which production schedules are now being met cannot be gathered from the notoriously deficient Soviet statistics. According to the State Planning Commission, in the first year of the fourth plan industry "basically completed the post-war reconstruction of industrial production." The commission's report stated, however, that civilian production in 1946 increased by 20 per cent over 1945, which seems a very small gain considering that during most of 1945 industry was almost wholly concentrated on military needs and huge numbers of workers were in the armed forces. It is also noteworthy that official pronouncements and press articles both suggest that news from the economic front is unsatisfactory. There are few claims of industrial victories and many tirades against slackness, inefficiency, mismanagement, and corruption. "There are still no few people," fulminated the magazine *Bolshevik* in a recent issue, "who place their individual interests above public interests and endeavor to organize their lives at the expense of other members of the socialist society. This is manifested in violation by individuals of the discipline of socialist labor in state enterprises, in collective farms, in government institutions."

The Soviet government has so far shown no inclination to meet such ills by reducing the tension. On the contrary, it is relying on stronger doses from the old bottle, increasing the severity of its measures against idlers and "saboteurs," and demanding from the workers more output for the same return. Thus "norms" for industrial workers are being raised 20 to 25 per cent in an effort to increase productivity. In other words, in order to maintain his wage, which, incidentally, has declined sharply in purchasing power in the past nine months, a worker must speed up very considerably. The piecework system is also being introduced for the first time on collective farms.

Physical pressures of this sort are reinforced by propaganda appeals to overcome by devoted labor the alleged threats of the imperialist powers. It remains to be seen whether the combination of pressure and ballyhoo will restore Russian élan. Much depends on the coming harvest, which Moscow predicts will be good. Last year's crop failure, which led to a steep rise in food prices and caused near famine in some districts, was a severe blow to morale. Should it prove possible this fall to abolish bread rationing and make food cheaper, the current lethargy may be overcome. But as long as a vast majority of Soviet workers are ill fed, as well as ill housed and ill clad, any considerable increase in their productivity seems a lot to expect.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The German Tragedy

REPORT ON THE GERMANS. By W. L. White. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THIS is a report on the "Report on the Germans" by one who was not too enthusiastic about Mr. White's "Report on the Russians," despite some ideological affinities with him absent in most of his critics. This lack of enthusiasm for the previous volume is mentioned merely to give greater force to the praise which must be accorded the present one. It is very good reporting indeed. Its virtue seems to lie in Mr. White's ability to relate very personal accounts of what Germans think and say with an admirable general survey of the total situation.

A good review of Germany during the war is furnished by a long interview with a German newspaperman, married to an American wife, who was known to the author before the war and who brings him up to date on history between 1939 and 1946. One could not find a more illuminating story of the rise and fall of Hitlerism in brief compass. Other interviews reveal the plight of the Jewish remnant in Berlin, the shifting opinions of various anti-Nazis, quasi-Nazis, and non-politicals; their attitude toward American and other occupation troops; the characteristic virtues and weaknesses of American policy; and the problem of the Russians. A concluding chapter dispenses with personal narratives and compares the present peace with that following the First World War, arriving at the conclusion that it contains even less promise for Germany and Europe than the earlier peace.

The value of the personal accounts lies in the fact that with a minimum of generalization we are allowed to see the German tragedy through the different reactions of various types of persons to it. Not only are the personal accounts interesting in themselves, but pieced together they bring out almost every aspect of the bottomless evil, the confusion of good and evil, the confusion which led to evil, and the feckless vir-

tue which were compounded in the Germany tragedy. The report is thus a most valuable antidote to all the illegitimate generalizations with which most people, including most reporters, seek to comprehend complex historical reality.

The general temper of the book is revealed in words with which I would want to agree even if no one else could be found to agree with them, though I dare say there will be others. Mr. White writes: "Fashions in ideological millinery change rapidly. It is curious now to remember that prior to the war European and American liberals felt that Hitler was the result of confused policies toward Germany, and were disposed to pity the German masses who were in his power rather than to blame them. I believed this fervently in 1939 and rather regret that it is now so badly out of fashion, for most of it I still believe."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Arturo Barea

THE FORGING OF A REBEL. By Arturo Barea. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$5.

PREVIOUS to the appearance of "The Forging of a Rebel" only one vital and authentic talent, Ramón Sender, remained active in Spanish prose. The aged Baroja, apparently still living, is a spent force. Even before his death in 1936 nothing comparable to the Sonatas and the Esperpentos was to be expected from Valle-Inclán. Azorín had made his peace with the angel of indifference and had been overtaken by that literary pietism which always threatened him. The most powerful intellect of the generation of 1898, Pérez de Ayala, had become silent. The conservative Ricardo de León continued to bore one with his tired rhetoric and post-siesta vacuity. Of the next generation, the men of fantasy and aesthetic posture, Gómez de la Serna still liberates his annual glycerine bubble. Bergamín, Giménez Caballero, Benjamín Jarnés, and Antonio Espina—none of them now appear to possess the merit attributed to them in "the days of the liberated

imagination." Sender alone had kept and had concentrated his powers. I have not read Barea's one novel, but the present book, set beside his excellent essay on García Lorca, is sufficient evidence that at last one major talent has been thrown up by the catastrophe that has dispersed and checked so many writers of promise.

It would be too facile to say that neither the liberal criticism of the school of 1898 nor the imaginative athleticism of the '30's was able to survive the great shock of the Spanish civil war, though it is relevant to point out that both Barea and Sender are men of the revolutionary tradition and that neither is by birthright an inhabitant of the literary world. But the profounder truth is that in the turmoil of Spain, the endless and necessary rebellion against corrupt authority, only those who have somehow combined the liberal and the revolutionary spirit have been able to preserve those permanent values upon which a conservative literature is professedly based. It is significant, too, that both Sender and Barea have met the necessity of revaluation imposed by the Spanish war by returning to a consideration of their own lives. Whatever may be the documentation of Sender's "A Man's Place" and "Chronicle of Dawn," these lovely and precise books are clearly autobiographical novels. In them poetry and realism are at no discord.

Barea's "The Forging of a Rebel" is pure autobiography, also in the great tradition of Spanish realism. To some extent, of course, the realistic method, which is not to say the naturalistic method, is imposed by the very nature of autobiography. But there can be no mistaking the quality of Barea's mind; the realism is integral with the man's imagination and is matched by the special talent. The brilliance, the precision with which the life of popular Madrid is set down in Part I makes it the best account of that city to be written in this century, and it is all done without ostentation and without wearisome device. To find its like one must go back to the great *pícaros* and realists of the six-

teenth and seventeenth centuries. But it is not only the street and the noisy tenement, the baker's shop and the sour atmosphere of the corner church that Barea so startlingly presents. It is the same when he describes the harsh and somber life of Brunete and the villages of the Guadarrama. The outer and the inner phenomena are here; the sunlight that drugs the brain and dulls the eye, the morbid materialism, the suspicion and hatred, the burden of a tradition that has lost all power to enlighten. And the whole procession of imagery is absorbed into a stream of powerful emotion.

Part II is even more successful. Maruecos! The name of Morocco, for a Spaniard, itself sums up the bitterness and the frustrations of this century's politics. The Spanish empire gone, the corrupt military hierarchy still imbued with its frivolous and murderous pride, the old political parties splintered into a thousand meaningless groups, the Spanish rulers of the first decade of this century easily fell victim to British high politics and accepted the appointed task of keeping France at a distance from Gibraltar. The result was tragedy. The disastrous defeats of the Riff war brought the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and the last stages of that war brought Franco into eminence and gave that ambitious and skeptical sadist authority over the Foreign Legion and the Moorish contingents. In what sense Morocco led to the civil war and gave victory to the militarists is vividly described by Barea, not by means of historical analysis but by a superb account of life in an infected army. A score of scenes remain in one's memory as if they had been personal experiences. The brothel at Tetuan, the woman Luisa, the catching of the big fish in the Straits (a quite unconscious tour de force), the uprooting of a fig tree, and the tapping and waste of a water source.

When a man who took part in the Spanish civil war glances over a bibliography of that conflict he is astonished to find how few are the pages that convey anything of the nature of that experience. The whole of Sender's "Counter-Attack," a few chapters of Malraux, a single chapter of Hemingway, and here and there a paragraph of certain French writers are about all. Over-sharp crystallization, absurd simplification due

THE JADED

They have come from far; they have come from very far,
And they are wearier than they are wise.
Their manliness is spent; their cheek-bones are
Hollow below their old beleaguered eyes
Which seek, once more, the cities of the plain
With dubious nostalgia, and in vain.

Listening, they have seen confusion darken,
And, watching, they have heard disaster sound;
They do not, any longer, care to hearken
To oracles and prophets, having found
Belief a stimulus which made them strong
For a few moments, never very long.

And now their will is tenuous as smoke
Or veils of mist from vales of mist arising;
Their courage, thin as any beggar's cloak,
Shrinks at advice, and shudders at advising;
Sun is no less endurable than rain;
Both laurels and forget-me-nots are vain.

Gray mountains rise before them, whence they hear
No water, only wind across the rock,
And time, their one attraction, draws them near
To space where time is measured by no clock,
To boundaries beyond the power of song
To stir them, by its brevity, for long.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Fundamentals of Naval Warfare

By LEE J. LEVERT

An outline of the principles and methods of naval warfare, comprehensive and excellently organized, this book will interest the general public as well as naval personnel. The section headings below indicate the scope of the subject matter. Illustrated with diagrams and sketches by William T. Brady.

\$5.00 at all bookstores

MACMILLAN

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to this or that imagined necessity of propaganda too often render the account worthless. Or the writer has not understood Spanish values and thus casts his protagonists after alien images of the hero and the villain. The great proportion of Spaniards are capable of prompt and bold action, but in a sense Ramón Sender, an Aragonese peasant, is too able and confident a man to be able to describe the shock of the war's outbreak upon the less well-equipped humanist.

Barea, a brave man and surely one of the most honest of chroniclers, has given in his final section a wholly credible account of the first year of the war. In a revolution, dramatic as its incidents may be, there is a greater sense of eventfulness than of events. One sees the untested ideas, the worn stock in trade of theory, the whims and fantasies, the personal myths and equivocations of dissident men, subjected to the abrasion of necessity. What was a mood becomes a party, and a mode of feeling becomes a cause. Party and cause almost insensibly become estranged from each other, and the whole dynamism of the revolution drifts into a new course, virtually without the participant's being aware of it. And almost invariably the ideal becomes the equivocal, and the intelligent and honest man finds himself to some degree at odds with the tenor of the enormous process. It is this I find in Barea's account of the Spanish war.

A non-party Socialist brought to effectiveness by the Communist Party, he was eventually distrusted by the Communists and was compelled to leave Spain during the war, largely because of their hostility. Yet he has resisted all temptations to make his account polemical, and while there is penetrating criticism of the Communists there is no bitterness at all. As he portrays it, the party remains the focal point of resistance to Franco.

In part, insight into his own condition has prevented Barea from losing himself in rancor. Sick of a terrible neurosis and made aware of it by the instantaneous and automatic responses of his body to the stimuli of fear, responses which even preceded awareness of the stimuli, he consciously refused to rationalize. His loyalties were to the revolution and to Spain. Their

purity and their force, his own honesty and ability, have produced a superb account of an event which still retains, I dare to say, far greater significance for the understanding of human values than the Second World War itself or anything that has happened since. Barea remains a whole man; his interest in himself is neither clinical nor egotistical; and he has used his great sensitivity to the most dignified of purposes.

RALPH BATES

Smaller Than Life

THERE WAS ONCE A SLAVE. The Heroic Story of Frederick Douglass. By Shirley Graham. Julian Messner. \$3.

IN HER biography of Frederick Douglass, Shirley Graham has gathered together an absolutely staggering number of details and has approached her subject with an all but breathless reverence and a high purpose—that of revealing the extent of the heroism of this former slave and his significance during the most crucial period of our history. Since she has won the Julian Messner Award for having written the best book combating intolerance in America, the larger implications of her subject are inescapable—the position of the Negro in American society today. Yet I cannot see that Miss Graham has made any contribution to interracial understanding, for she is so obviously determined to Uplift the Race that she makes Douglass a quite unbelievable hero and has robbed him of dignity and humanity alike. As serious biography this performance is very nearly ludicrous; and in the battle against intolerance it seems to me that the book's effect will be negligible.

Part of the trouble lies in the serious limitations of fictionalized biography. At best it usually manages to be simply a readable account of a historical figure: most often the validity of the characterization suffers in the degree that it is fictional. It is just not possible for a contemporary biographer to know what So-and-So said to his wife at the breakfast table in 1866, or how he felt walking through the woods, or his physiological reactions to heartbreak. The attempt, presumably made in order to bring the reader closer to the subject, actually operates to alienate the reader and to inject an element of unreality.

And the false intimacy vulgarizes the subject.

Miss Graham begins her story when Douglass is sixteen and, wild-eyed with adoration, follows him till he drops, some three hundred pages later. From the first sentence to the last his eyes are on a star; the people Sharing his Vision are sometimes allowed to be confused or misguided but are intrinsically noble, and all, with the same monotonous flash of insight, are struck with awe when they see him. The people who are against him are all bilious or drunken or devilishly clever, and it is Miss Graham's peculiar ability to create the impression, no matter what the facts, that these people too tremble at the mere mention of the name of Frederick Douglass. Miss Graham drags in the Forces of History, as many as she can lay her hands on, and as often as the mood strikes her dumps them on the reader and dashes on to the next Douglass triumph. In her account even history bends before the force of this man.

In Miss Graham's history book voices "crack like whips," people fight "like tigers," are "struck all of a heap"; hero and saint alike "shake with rage" or bite "trembling lips," in spite of which time "deals kindly" with them; and every one of them, even Lincoln, realizes that "*few men are like this Douglass!*" (Italics Miss Graham's). Douglass comes to painful, spasmodic life only when she allows him to speak for himself—as she, mercifully, often does, but not often enough.

There is a tradition among emancipated whites and progressive Negroes to the effect that no unpleasant truth concerning Negroes is ever to be told, a tradition as crippling and insidious as that other tradition that Negroes are never to be characterized as anything more than amoral, laughing clowns. Frederick Douglass was first of all a man—honest within the limitations of his character and his time, quite frequently misguided, sometimes pompous, gifted but not always a hero, and no saint at all. Miss Graham, in her frenzied efforts to make him (a) a Symbol of Freedom, and (b) an example of What the Negro Race Can Produce, has reduced a significant, passionate human being to the obscene level of a Hollywood caricature. Relations between Negroes and whites, like any other province of human ex-

perience, demand honesty and insight; they must be based on the assumption that there is one race and that we are all part of it. JAMES BALDWIN

Haunted by Felicity

THE IRON PASTORAL. By John Frederick Nims. William Sloane Associates. \$2.50.

THE WOUND AND THE WEATHER. By Howard Moss. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.

CHILD of green lovebird and the raven death" is the last line of a poem by John Frederick Nims called "Dollar Bill" and concerned entirely with descriptions of that object. I think the emblematic raven could have cropped up like this only in the land of Edgar Allan Poe. Not that there is the least tentativeness or obliqueness about Mr. Nims's Americanism. His fast, flip, high-handed metaphors crowd together much as do subway riders in the rush hour, and his *éclat*—colloquial as hell—is no less than expected in a literary era licensed by Mr. Eliot's early steely quatrains as much as by the Bill of Rights. It is apparent that Mr. Nims never feels so poetic as when wielding the whiplash of campus irony or staring down at life—albeit cutely—from the steepness of Mr. Auden's "F-6."

One thing bristles from Mr. Nims's pages as well as from those of Howard Moss, and this is their anxiety—thus deprived, as a term, of its Freudian prestige—to formulate their porousness toward the social environment. Mr. Nims tends to overwhelm us with sardonic accolades to life as a football game, or to poolroom, movie, penny arcade, waitress, magazine stand, while Mr. Moss, a daintier linguist and more metaphysically inclined, tends to contemplate our lakes and shores, a zoo or a symbolized skull, with the intellectual *brio* of Wallace Stevens. Yet impressive is the fact that in certain poems (*vide* "Theater Cliff" and "The Robbery") Mr. Moss is almost indistinguishable in spirit and idiom from Mr. Nims; on this mutual ground, indeed, they stand in full chorus with Karl Shapiro. Although assuredly Mr. Nims is a more formidable leg man among poetic local events than Shapiro, Shapiro has it over the present poets because of superior lucidity and

a grand manner—however critically vulnerable—traceable somehow to what both Eliot and Auden would be constrained to term "faith." Let us not quibble. What Nims and Moss have in place of faith is not other than *awareness*; pert or reverent, pondered or facile, but the essence of what every young poet should know in these atomic days.

The ironic slant of the attitudes of Nims and Moss formally rejects any moral positivism, except perhaps as to love, but here, even though Nims exhibits the stern will of a Krafft-Ebing when tackling the softer sentiment, they both have the gingerly touch of the earlier Auden when it comes to an apostolism of the faith. Mr. Moss affirms, for example, "Death is your lover." And yet he can turn around and call "love," à la Nims, "the number on the family phone." The fetishism of *things* seems to have reached a point for Mr. Nims where the crude statistical experience quite supersedes the criticism, the moral reaction, though the latter is present metaphorically fortissimo.

A sure clue to the compromised situation of both poets is the bathos into which they habitually fall. This for instance is quite in Mr. Nims's stride:

Our fat and mooncalf nation tubs
forever
God in the clotted fishbowls of the
eye.

And Mr. Moss in an otherwise fairly decorous poem can say without mincing metaphors: "Medusa wore her most becoming gown." This may be Moss at his worst rather than his best, but it is a measure of his pervasive slipperiness; again, he will finish off poems of Stevensesque equilibration with a flat lifesaver like this:

Saying, Welcome to the Stranger
And to the heart, Out of danger.

The tremendous mobilization of modern modes in poetry—ripe for quick pupils—bestows a willy-nilly grace on the work of these poets. I cannot account in any other way for my apprehension, while reading, of an attractive warmth in Nims, a gesture of metaphysical elegance in Moss; of a fine impasto of words in Nims, a fragile music in Moss. Some felicity, I would not gainsay, but these poems are much less made of it than haunted by it. PARKER TYLER

Films

JAMES
AGEE

GREAT EXPECTATIONS" does for Dickens about what "Henry V" did for Shakespeare. That is, it indicates a sound method for translating him from print to film. The method is not one of the most exciting that could be imagined, nor in its own terms is it used as excitingly as could be imagined; but the film is almost never less than graceful, tasteful, and intelligent, and some of it is better than that. The first few reels, on Pip's childhood, are especially well done, one strangeness and surprise unfolding from the center of another without flurry or overemphasis, with something of the cool enchantment there has always been in sped-up shots of the blooming of a flower. It looks as if the director, David Lean, and his associates have understood Dickens's novel as a work of literature and as a literary but good moving picture and also with the help of Freud and perhaps to some extent of Marx, and have had the wisdom not only to get guidance and leverage from these kinds of knowledge but also never to urge them on to the screen or the audience. Whether or not they went about it in this way, the picture has a good deal of the tone and the extra resonance of dreams, legends, or fairy tales. I thought it very provocative, for instance, as a symbolized intuitive image of nineteenth-century England, with the century (Pip and Estella) moving as if hypnotized by the vengefulness, gratitude, and deviousness of great ancestral forces: Magwitch as the archetype of the nameless swarm; Miss Favisham as the embittered Virgin Queen; the sinister-benign Jaggers as Law and Government.

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Nearly all of the casting and playing is so good that it is useless to clog a lot of space trying to list preferences, but it should be said that Anthony Wager, as young Pip, is so extraordinarily fine that it is a great pity he was not used more often before he outgrew childhood roles; and that good as she is, Jean Simmons, as young Estella, seems affected in a wrong way, on a second seeing. I regret with the English reviewer Dillys Powell that more minor characters were not sketched into the background; as she observes, a great deal more of this could have been dared, for the screen can communicate in a second or two what may require pages in print.

I also wish that the Dickens illustrations had been studied still more faithfully and imaginatively—that the whole tone of the film had had a kind of india-ink darkness, psychologically as well as visually: for it seems to me they had hold of a story much more cruel and mysterious than the one that got told. If this had been felt, the picture would not only be darker; the whole smooth, middle-distance narrative style, which so often merely illustrates the story nicely, would have been contorted into a style much more subjective and more visually expressive. I doubt that

such a film would have been so popular as this one, and I am sure it could not have been so charming. All I can say for it is that it would have been still more faithful to Dickens—or my idea of him, anyhow—and at the same time less subservient; that it would have been a really original movie, a transfiguration rather than a translation; that it would have run the risks that are always run when primary creative intelligence rather than the best that good taste can do is turned loose on the screen. It is depressing to realize how many people feel that "Great Expectations" is about as good a job as the screen can do; how can people who believe that, think they really know or care much of anything about movies? But that is the prevailing taste, and I will admit that in its relatively mild terms this is a very good and enjoyable piece of work.

I enjoyed "Great Expectations" more than Carol Reed's "Odd Man Out," but I was more interested in Reed's film, and liked it more. Essentially, though not on the whole in effect, it is a much more difficult and ambitious film, aimed in a more useful direction. The hero, a murdering and fatally wounded fugitive revolutionist, is an image of much of the best in contemporary mankind. The picture tells the story of his flight

through the night streets of Belfast. This night city is civilization; on that intricate stage a wide variety of people try to help or hinder or capture the fugitive. Many of them are selfless in relation to some idea or passion or conception of duty of their own; not one is capable of the selfless charity it would require to deal with this hounded, doomed soul purely for its own sake. This seems to me a just image and useful diagnosis of the world, and an exceedingly good idea for a film; but quite a bit falls short in the making.

The early reels are exciting and beautiful—purely in movie terms, they are the best—yet they fail all but entirely to communicate the revolutionary edge that is so well got in F. W. Green's novel; in that respect John Ford's "The Informer" was better; and even some of the best purely movie details that Green wrote down are surprisingly omitted from the film. In the later reels the film, like the novel, tries for broader and broader allegory and phantasmagoria, but much as I respect this boldness, I don't think it succeeds. The story seems merely to ramify too much, to go on too long, and at its unluckiest to go arty. Most unfortunately the central character, effectively yet monotonously played by James Mason, is given

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"BRIGHT YARN... A DANDY."—N. Y. Times
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George MONTGOMERY • Nancy GOULD
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DYKER
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MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
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TILYOUNG
Coney Island

"HUMAN AND ABSORBING DRAMA."—N. Y. Sun

Susan HAYWARD • Marsha HUNT
Lee BOWMAN • Eddie ALBERT
'SMASH-UP'
— and —
'THAT'S MY MAN'
Don AMECHE • Catherine McLEOD

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too little remaining life of his own. He has virtually no will or mind or strength left but almost from the beginning is just a football, deflated so far that even its kicking around by the rest of the cast is rather soggy. So, as an image and allegory, the whole film loses much of its possible force: it is not a tragic poem but a series of passive elegiac tableaux with a certain suggested relationship, generally inferior, to the Stations of the Cross. The tone of pity for man is much too close to self-pity.

Yet detail by detail most of "Odd Man Out" is made with great skill and imaginativeness, and with a depth of ardor that is very rare in contemporary films. In fact, the kind of creative energy is at large here that is lacking in "Great Expectations"; and even the mistakes made by that kind of energy are more moving and more admirable than the gentler kinds of success. It does strike me, though, that "Odd Man Out" is at its weakest with its most important ideas, and next weakest with its most important characters, and is at its best with the inanimate world and with people as denizens of that world, not as self-responsible salients. If the world should end tomorrow, as this film rather substantially suggests that it must, and may as well, this film would furnish one of the more appropriate epitaphs: a sad, magnificent summing up of a night city. Movies have always been particularly good at appreciating cities at night: but of a night city this is the best image I have seen.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

LISTENING to a London Decca record of Berlioz's "Carnaval romain" Overture I was aware, first, of how much more beautiful than I had remembered the long opening *Andante sostenuto* section was; then I began to realize that this heightened effect was the result of the way the music was being performed; listening more attentively now to the performance I noted a sustained impetus and unflinching control in the marshaling and shaping of the sound into a continuous, clear-textured, and beautifully contoured progression. It was very much like what one hears in Toscanini's performances, and like what I recalled having heard from one other conductor once before—in the imported C. E. T. R. A. per-

formance of Mozart's Requiem. And at the end of the first side I looked at the label and found that the Berlioz was in fact being performed by the same man as the Mozart: Victor de Sabata, conducting the London Philharmonic.

The *Allegro* section of the overture was played as superbly as the *Andante*. And the reproduction of the performance was the first in my experience to justify the glowing descriptions in the London Decca literature and in my colleagues' reviews: for the first time there was clear, lustrous brilliance in loud passages, in addition to the marvelously distinct definition in space in quieter passages. The record (K1552; \$2), then, offers much to feel excited and happy about: the experience of the music and performance, and the additional evidence that there is now a musician from whom we may hope to hear something like what we have heard from Toscanini.

Other London Decca releases: A skillfully made and impressive work by Benjamin Britten, his Serenade for tenor, horn, and strings, beautifully sung by Peter Pears with Dennis Brain and the Boyd Neel orchestra under the composer's direction, and excellently recorded (Set ED-7; \$7). Dukas's "L'Apprenti sorcier," well performed by the National Symphony under Jorda, with the recorded sound of loud passages exhibiting the usual defects: indistinct, veiled violins, the confusion of reverberation, the haze of high-frequency distortion (Set ED-16; \$5). Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, well-performed by Ida Haendel with the National under Sargent, its recorded sound agreeable on a limited-range machine, but the solo violin wiry and loud passages of the orchestra poor on wide-range machines (Set ED-23; \$9). Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, not well played by Fistoulari with the National, the recorded sound of loud passages especially bad (Set ED-14; \$7). And Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet," atrociously done by Coates with the National (Set ED-6; \$7).

Going to the opening of Ballet Theater's spring season at New York's City Center with high expectations, after last fall's performances, I was shocked by a performance of "Les Sylphides" in which the soloists jabbed and flung themselves in all directions with exhibitionistic violence, distorting the piece and destroying its poetic quality. And this was only the first of the performances which provided the clearest, most

forceful illustration of the tendencies Edwin Denby warned against repeatedly in his *Herald Tribune* reviews.

As far back as 1943 he spoke of Ballet Theater's stress of obvious dramatic expression in dancing, and of how the need of getting specific points across to the audience encouraged the dancer to focus attention on himself and got him to think this was the only kind of dancing that was important; whereas, said Denby, there were old and new ballets with poetic rather than dramatic intention, which was realized by delicate finish in the execution of movements with dance meaning rather than dramatic meaning. Ballet Theater's dancers had, then, developed a fine verve in dancing, but not "the sensitive articulation of movement which people call elegance"; they "got across to the audience boldly," but overdid their parts and tried "to top each other till the effect has been silly and vulgar." He therefore welcomed their new interest in the classics which he thought the best corrective for those faults. "For though the classics need dance verve and stage presence to bring them to life, they also need dance elegance and personal reticence: a classic dancer doesn't spill his personal glamor all over the stage as a dancer in a character part is sometimes tempted to do." But what Ballet Theater's dancers did recently was to carry the faults of their character dancing into their classic dancing.

In this the company—with the exception of Youskevitch, and of Kaye, whose classic dancing was relaxed and continent in its brilliance—followed the lead of Alonso, illustrating Denby's observation that in classic ballet the ballerina sets the style for the company. Alonso's own tendency is toward brilliance in *allegro*, with "high extensions . . . quick balance . . . bold, clear speed"; in competition with Markova she acquired a considerable measure of quiet and reticence; with Markova gone from the company Alonso feels free—and privileged by her new status as ballerina of the company—to do again what comes naturally.

In the two performances of Balanchine's "Apollo" Youskevitch knew his part even less well than last fall—from which one got an idea of how many performances of "Apollo" he had danced in since then, and how "Apollo" was regarded by the artistic directors of the company, and what sort of artistic brains and conscience were to receive the high-powered support of the newly formed Ballet Theater Foundation.

Letters to the Editors

Advice for Bigotees

Dear Sirs: Those who plan to attend the Berkshire Music Festival may be interested to know that a Massachusetts statute makes it unlawful to discriminate against anyone on account of race or color, and in addition to imposing a stiff criminal penalty grants to the aggrieved person a right to collect civil damages (Gen. Laws, Chap. 272, Sec. 98).

EDWARD SPIEGEL

Boston July 1

No Telling Where This Will End

Dear Sirs: First let me thank you for printing my letter some weeks ago [offering to exchange used copies of the *New Statesman and Nation* for used copies of *The Nation*—Editor]. As a consequence, I had so many replies that I had to get a reciprocal letter inserted in the *New Statesman*. Now I have had so many replies from Britons that all my American addresses are used up, and there are still more than 650 addresses of English people wishing to exchange their *New Statesman* for *The Nation* or the *New Republic*. Can you help me to supply these 650 American addresses? If so, I shall be very grateful and so will the recipients. My address is still 17 Forest Court, Snaresbrook, E. 11.

P. DENIS GOODALL

Snaresbrook, England, July 5

It's Up to You

Dear Sirs: I appreciate your warm and friendly response to my last-ditch effort to block the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. It was indeed encouraging to return from the Senate floor to my office at 4 a.m. and find it flooded with over 3,500

telegrams from well-wishers who had worked through the night to arouse their neighbors to the dangers of this bill while I was addressing the Senate. I wish time permitted me to write a personal message to each of you.

The chief purpose of the Taft-Hartley bill, in the last analysis, is the lowering of wages. Even Senator Taft, in an extremely frank statement, admitted that the effect of the President's veto of the Case bill last year was to prevent a wage decrease. Any bill that limits labor's right to organize ultimately cuts labor's wages. The National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce are not seeking this type of legislation for the fun of it—they seek it because it means tremendous pay-roll savings for their members.

Most of my constituents are farmers. The worker is the farmer's best customer. When factory wages are high the worker buys more food; when they are low he buys less. Agriculture's prosperity depends upon labor's.

I think that the great mistake of the fight against this repressive law was that labor's magnificent response was badly timed. The bill could have been fought much more effectively in November, 1946, than in June, 1947. After last year's Case bill, labor had every reason to know what it could expect from a Republican Congress. The Democratic Party, in most states, had forthright and progressive candidates in the field. Throughout the country the Democratic primaries had resulted in a long string of victories for progressive, pro-labor candidates who were committed by word and by deed to the continuation of the New Deal. I know that this was particularly true of my own Northwest section.

In short, the issues were clearly drawn. There was every reason for zealous support of progressive Democratic candidates by those who are interested in protecting labor, the farmer, and the small business man.

Yet too many people allowed themselves to be confused by the constant emphasis on petty war-time shortages and annoyances in the always pro-Republican press. Too many sulked and quibbled about their own petty differences. Too many allowed themselves to forget the real issues, which had been classically stated and restated over the

years by President Roosevelt. Too many were deceived by hollow Republican promises that if the giant corporations were given their own way, prices would come down, goods would flow in abundance, and the threat of unemployment would disappear.

Indeed, ever since the death of President Roosevelt, too many Americans, including some union men, are like the baseball fans whose interest in the game dropped off after the retirement of Babe Ruth. But politics is much more serious. Sure, the Champ is dead, but the game goes on, and it vitally affects you and your family every day. You can't afford to lose interest. The Democratic Party will be as progressive as you make it, but it is up to every union man, every farmer, and every small business man to do a real job. Each must get into politics, ring doorbells, nominate good men at the primaries, get out the registration and the vote.

I warn you of one thing: the Taft-Hartley Act will not stay on the books very long without change. The next Congress will amend it either for better or for worse. Which way the tide turns depends largely upon your activity and your vote at registration, primary, and election time.

GLEN H. TAYLOR

Washington, July 3

N. F. L. U. Deserves Credit

Dear Sirs: In his article *King Cotton Strikes Again* (*The Nation*, June 21), Mr. Mezerik has committed the sin of omission by not even mentioning the work of the National Farm Labor Union (A. F. of L.). Known as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union from 1933 to 1946, the N. F. L. U. is almost solely responsible for awakening liberal America to the plight of the Southern sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and day laborers.

From 1939 to 1942 the Food and Tobacco Workers (C. I. O.) had a few locals among sharecroppers in the South, but since 1942 it has been virtually inactive in the rural South. At present the C. I. O. drive is not directed toward the sharecroppers and day laborers.

As one who has worked with the N. F. L. U. for the past three years, I believe that this organization deserves the attention of Mr. Mezerik and other

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DAVID S. BURGESS,

Organizer, T. W. U. A. (C. I. O.)

Rock Hill, S. C., July 3

Books and World Recovery

Dear Sirs: The desperate and continued need for American publications to serve as tools of physical and intellectual reconstruction abroad has been made vividly apparent by appeals from men of learning in many lands and from Americans who have seen that need. The American Book Center for War Devastated Libraries has in the past year and a half shipped nearly a million volumes of highly selected books and periodicals abroad.

Continuing its program through 1947, the center is making a renewed appeal for books and periodicals of intellectual merit in all fields, and especially for volumes published in the last ten years.

Of particular value are complete or incomplete files of *The Nation*. Such donations to the program will help in the reconstruction which must preface world understanding and peace.

Ship contributions to the American Book Center, care the Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C., freight prepaid, or write to the Book Center for further information.

ALICE D. BALL,

Assistant Executive Director

Washington, July 2

Books for D. P.'s

Dear Sirs: The S. O. S. (Supplies for Overseas Survivors) of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has recently launched an intensive campaign for books with which to establish libraries in D. P. camps for refugees awaiting resettlement and to provide leisure and educational reading for Jews who are attempting to reconstruct their lives in Europe.

Persons wishing to contribute books can bring or send their donations to the S. O. S. Collection, 1 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York 18, New York, or to any one of the two hundred S. O. S. depots located conveniently throughout the five boroughs, or to any branch library in Brooklyn or Queens.

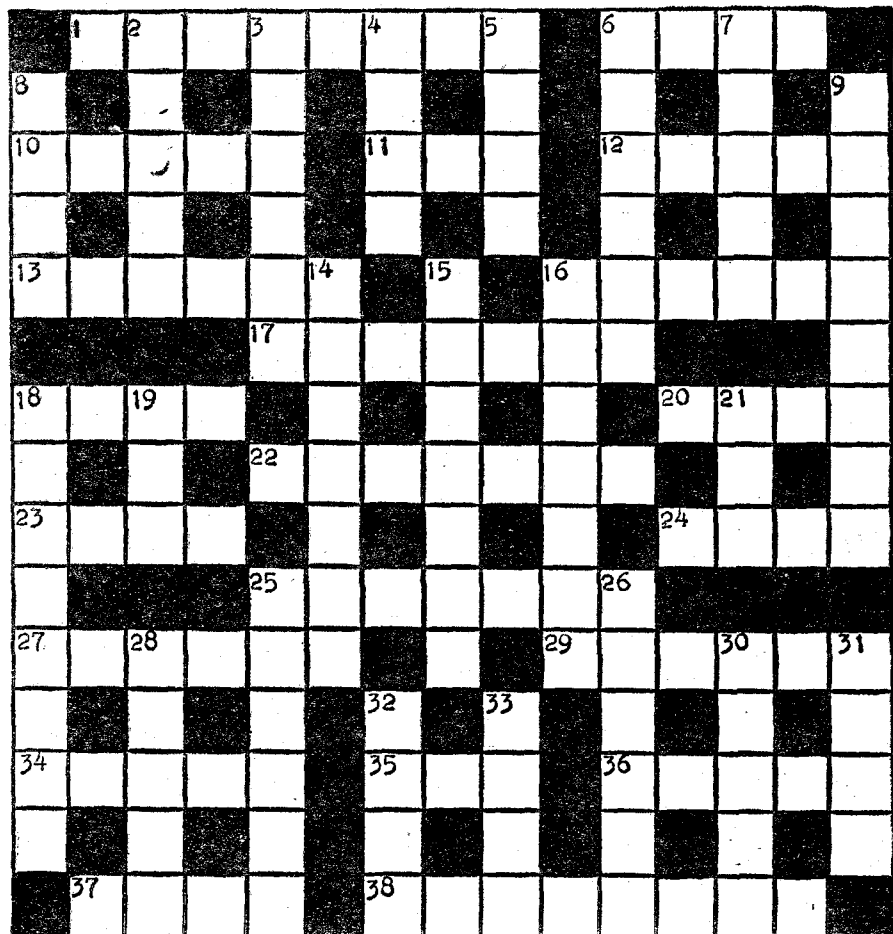
Anything you can do to make the public aware of the terrible dearth of reading material in the D. P. camps will be greatly appreciated.

BERNARD HANKIN,

New York, July 3 Publicity Director

Crossword Puzzle No. 220

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 What art's turned to is light and shady (5 & 8)
- 6 "Though I am not splenitive and ----, Yet have I something in me dangerous"
- 10 African gully found here and there in Donegal
- 11 A vaguely great number in the Indies
- 12 To get your hand in
- 13 Weak tea for a pet that is nursed
- 16 The clock strikes
- 17 "See the conquering hero comes! Sound the ----, beat the drums!"
- 18 Pier and tunnel-maker
- 20 Babe in holy orders
- 22 Tea, Lois? (anag.)
- 23 "He left the ---- at which the world grew pale, To point a moral, or adorn a tale"
- 24 Shown by men vying
- 25 Interrupt
- 27 Princess of Zenda
- 29 In a word, an American song of the last war but one
- 34 A potential lover, perhaps
- 35 One of those Nevada girls
- 36 Sort of flavor you might be crazy about
- 37 Take to water if you would be in the fashion
- 38 The food of fools

DOWN

- 2 A palindromic doctrine
- 3 High spot in Noah's life story

- 4 Tom Bowling lay a sheer one
- 5 Suggests a very short term credit
- 6 Hungarian goulash, as the French would have it
- 7 So bad for the harvester's nerves?
- 8 Mesmeric
- 9 A return to form
- 14 European country of acid nature
- 15 It isn't the early bird you copy
- 16 We are nearly halfway through this one
- 18 Min and Adolf in variety
- 19 How Bernard Shaw might spell the young sheep
- 21 Not a particularly stylish hair-do
- 25 An article has been omitted from the diagram
- 26 Scotsman's beehive?
- 28 We turn up by request, but not straightway
- 30 Prevent
- 31 They show up the dust
- 32 Looks like the answer to "Out of the strong came forth sweetness"
- 33 Fluid rock

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 219

ACROSS:—1 CLOVERLEAF; 6 EWER; 10 GRAPHIC; 11 ENTERIC; 12 CLARISSA; 13 ELIHU; 15 URSAS; 17 INSOLVENT; 19 LIGHTSHIP; 21 SATAN; 23 OMEGA; 24 WELLADAY; 27 EASTERN; 28 AVOCADO; 29 SONS; 30 CENTIGRADE.

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